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The University Press Shakespeare

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
IN FORTY VOLUMES

Editor's Autograph Edition

LIMITED TO TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY SETS
FOR SALE IN AMERICA AND ENGLAND
OF WHICH THIS IS NUMBER 62

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The numbering of the lines follows that of the Cambridge Edition.

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BYAM SHAW
1902

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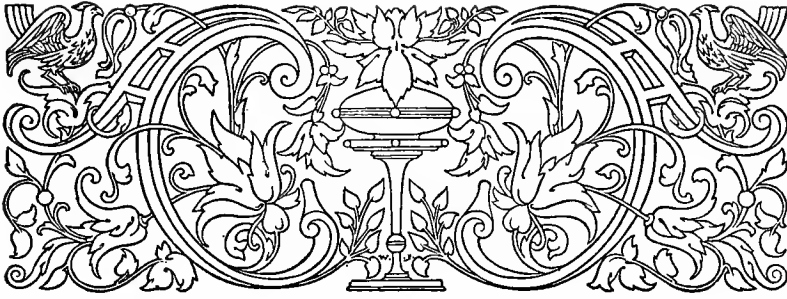
KING HENRY VI

PART I

BYAM SHAW

GLOUCESTER. “Stay, stay, I say !
And if you love me, as you say you do,
Let me persuade you to forbear awhile.”

ACT III, SCENE I, line 103.



THE COMPLETE WORKS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

WITH ANNOTATIONS AND
A GENERAL INTRODUCTION
BY SIDNEY LEE

VOLUME XVII

KING HENRY VI—PART I

WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION BY ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD
AND AN ORIGINAL FRONTISPIECE BY BYAM SHAW



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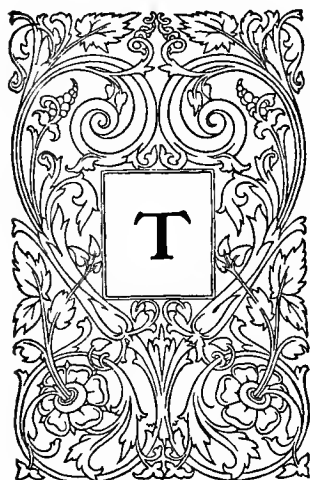
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INTRODUCTION



THE precise dates at which Shakespeare first came before the world as a player and as a playwright are alike unknown ; nor has it ever been pretended that either of these dates must necessarily be associated with the production of "Henry VI," or of any Part of the trilogy, upon the stage. Strictly speaking, no biographical fact concerning him is known to us between May, 1583, when his eldest child was born, and February, 1585 (N.S.), when her twin brother and sister were christened at Stratford, — and March 3, 1592 (N.S.), when a play which is at least possibly identifiable with the "First Part of Henry VI" was performed in London. Between these dates, as is well known, erudite and imaginative conjecture have combined to crowd a variety of experiences as multitudinous as are the houses of London town itself ; but we are all agreed that before the summer of this year he had been for some time connected with the London theatre. For it was about this date

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that either as an actor or, more probably, as a playwright, he was vituperated by the unhappy Greene—in what may surely be called the unhappiest moment of the writer's literary life. Thus with "Henry VI"—except on the absolutely untenable supposition that the "Shakespeare" of the "Groatsworth of Wit" is a different personage from Shakespeare—the master-spirit of the English drama first enters into some sort of ascertained connexion with it or with its ordinary vehicle, the English stage. For, whether or not he had a hand in "Titus Andronicus"—a question which the present is not the occasion for discussing—no play of that name was performed till 1594, though a "Titus and Vespacia" was acted some years earlier.

This fact, then, gives to "Henry VI," which Shakespeare's friends and associates, the editors of the First Folio, chose to include as a whole within the canon of his plays, a priority of place in the whole series from the point of view of date, and thereby an interest of its kind unique. In the second place, I do not think that, whatever critical judgment may be formed of "Henry VI" in its entirety, any doubt can be entertained but that, taken as a whole, this trilogy in its dramatic and in its general literary qualities stands very much nearer to the rest of the great series of Shakespearean Histories, among which a place was assigned to it by Hemynge and Condell, than to the Chronicle Histories, from whose species it cannot be regarded as having altogether emerged. Together with a very few other plays—among which we may safely class Marlowe's "Troublesome Raigne and Lamentable Death of Edward II" (1590-1), Peele's more or less contemporary but more rudimentary "Famous Chronicle of Edward I," and (in part) Greene's "Scottish Historie of James IV, slaine

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at Flodden," together with the very remarkable anonymous "Sir Thomas More," probably quite as early in date as the preceding — "Henry VI" may thus be regarded as marking the transition from unfree beginnings, and from the Chronicle History pure and simple, to one of the most characteristic as well as most memorable of the developments of the English drama. For our national historical drama, as its conception unfolded itself in Shakespeare, corresponds in its historical continuity to that of our national life at large, which may safely be described as the feature more than any other differentiating it from the life of other nations. Thus "Henry VI" has a position hardly less notable in the general history of the English drama than in the series of Shakespeare's plays. Finally, I think that, whatever may be held to be the relations to each other of the several Parts of "Henry VI," and their comparative dramatic and literary merits, it is undeniable that the whole work is conceived on a grand scale and in a grand way, and that, though it cannot be set down as a masterpiece, its theme "contains matter, and not common things." Without entering at present into the details of his criticism, I cannot refrain at the outset of this Introduction from citing some words of the Nestor of English Shakespeare scholars, Dr. Furnivall,¹ because it is above all things desirable that in discussing these plays the great possibilities of their argument, which the execution has at least gone some way to meet, should not be as it were by accident overlooked.

"There are few things," writes Dr. Furnivall, as usual putting his own ideas in his own way, "I regret more in Shakespeare's career

¹ "New Shakspere Society's Transactions," 1876, p. 284.

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than this: that he did n't turn back to the superb subject of these Henry VI plays and write a fresh set on it. . . . The reproduction of the Lancelot and Guinevere love in Suffolk and Queen Margaret, though with a bitterer end, gives a strange interest in the drama. And, when the thread is woven with the others of Margaret's ambition, cutting down Gloster, the sole support of her and her husband's throne; the working out of her punishment for this, through the quarrels of the nobles and the insidious Richard's schemes; when one sees the Queen of 'peerless feature . . . valiant courage and undaunted spirit' robbed of her love, her kingdom and her child; the current of her being changed; the woman turned into a demon and a fury; then, dethroned, uttering the dread curse of Fate and Vengeance on the crafty cynical Richard in the pride of his success, and then witnessing the fulfilment of that curse on him defiant, fearing Death as little as he feared Sin . . . you have a combination of personal and political motives which, had Shakespeare gone back to it later in life, would have given the world the finest historical dramas it will ever own."

In order that he may see light through the quite inevitably lengthy and not less inevitably complicated discussion which must be inflicted on the reader, as to the still-vext subject of "Henry VI" and of the originals on which the larger portion of this trilogy were beyond dispute founded, the dates of the early editions of the several plays in question should in the first instance be remembered. The "First Part of Henry VI," then, was so far as is known first printed in the First Folio (Hemyng and Condell's), where it appeared in conjunction with the Second and Third Parts in 1623. Now, as already indicated, Henslowe mentions in his "Diary" a play which he calls, first "Henery the VI" and then "Hary VI," as performed at the Rose, on March 3, 1592 (N.S.), and as repeated at least fifteen times. And, in his "Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication," Nashe refers to a play in which "brave Talbot (the terror of the French)" was, "after he had lain

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two hundred years in his tomb," made to "triumph again on the stage, and have his bones new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least (at several times)." On this twofold hint Mr. Fleay¹ says, without further hesitation: "On March 3, 1592, Lord Strange's players acted 'Henry VI,' a re-fashioning by Shakespeare of an old Queen's play, into which he introduced the Talbot scenes alluded to by Nashe"; adding as a conjecture that in 1599 this play passed to the Lord Chamberlain's servants, whence the reference, of which more anon, in the Epilogue to "Henry V." But we are not able to go quite so fast. It is quite true that Nashe's description, so far as Talbot is concerned, fits the "First Part of Henry VI"; and also that the popularity ascribed to the play by Nashe fits the play mentioned by Henslowe as having been performed by Lord Strange's men and having had so good a run. Yet, especially as the success of a play at one house was quite as likely in the Elizabethan age as it is in our own to lead to the production at another house of a second play on the same theme, the "First Part of Henry VI" was very likely neither the play mentioned by Henslowe nor that to which reference is made by Nashe. This is all we know or can conjecture as to the history of the "First Part of Henry VI," which was never printed separately before its inclusion in the First Folio under the title of "The first part of King Henry the Sixt."

"The case is altered" (to use one of the many proverbial expressions which occur in "Henry VI") with regard to the Second and Third Parts, or, as they are superscribed in the First Folio, "The second part of King Henry the Sixt, with the death of the Good Duke Humfry," and "The third part of King Henry the Sixt, with the death of the

¹ "Life of Shakespeare," p. 260.

THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI

Duke of Yorke." These plays were respectively founded on two other old plays, entitled "The First Part of the Contention betwixt the Two famous houses of York and Lancaster, with the death of the good Duke Humphrey; And the banishment and death of the Duke of Suffolke, and the Tragical end of the proud Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable Rebellion of Iacke Cade: And the Duke of Yorke's first claime vnto the Crowne"; and the other, "The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henry the Sixt, with the whole Contention betweene the two Houses Lancaster and Yorke, as it was sundrie times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke his seruants."¹ The relations between these two plays and the Second and Third Parts will have to be discussed in more or less of detail below; but it will be well to note at once, by way of indicating the general measure of indebtedness of the latter to the former, that according to various estimates rather less than two-thirds and rather more than half of the two Parts of "Henry VI" are founded on the text of the two earlier dramas; the portions incorporated being taken over either directly or with alterations and improvements, while the general course of the action in the earlier and in the later plays may be described as substantially the same.

Thomas Millington, the printer of these two plays, reprinted them in 1600; and in 1619 (three years, it will be noted, after Shakespeare's death) another bookseller, Thomas Pavier, to whom Millington had assigned them under the titles of the "First and Second Parts of Henry VI," published them in a single volume under the

¹ "The First Part of the Contention" and "The True Tragedie" have been reprinted by Halliwell-Phillipps under the title of "First Sketches of the Second and Third Parts of Henry VI," in the (old) "Shakespeare Society's Publications" (1843), and in the "Cambridge Shakespeare," vol. V.

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collective title of "The Whole Contention between the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke, with the Tragical ends of the good Duke Humfrey, Richard Duke of Yorke, and King Henrie the Sixt, divided into two Parts: And newly corrected and enlarged. Written by William Shakespeare, Gent." This edition, as Dr. Furnivall pointed out,¹ when compared with the original editions of 1594 and 1595 and with the reprints of 1600, is found to contain a few modifications and elaborations of some significance; but they cannot be drawn into any kind of comparison with the charges introduced in our extant Second and Third Parts of "Henry VI." It may be added that, in 1623, Blount and Jaggard, who were among the publishers that had the immortal honour of taking part in the publication of the First Folio, entered in the Stationers' Registers "The Thirde Part of Henry the Sixt"; but this is, quite obviously, the play which appeared in the Folio under the designation, by which it has ever since been known, of the First Part.

The sole remaining piece of evidence which — besides bearing upon the question, to be discussed below, of the relation between the Second and Third Parts of "Henry VI" and the two old plays on which those Parts were founded — directly affects that of the dates of all four plays, is the notorious passage, always with us, that occurs in Greene's "Groatsworth of Wit." This miserable manifesto of an embittered but not chastened spirit, a literary testament more concentrated in its malice than those of which Villon and Dunbar had furnished earlier examples, proceeded from a man of talent. But Greene's fate, like that of many men of talent without character, was, when he met with one superior to himself, to fail to recognise him as such. And

¹ "New Shakspeare Society's Transactions," 1876, p. 285.

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it is certainly noticeable, as pointed out by Mr. Fleay,¹ that not long before the time when Greene sat down to compose his "Groatsworth of Wit"—which, as he died September 4, 1592, must have been in one of the summer months of that year—the play on Henry VI, which may have been Part I of our trilogy, had been produced with success at the Rose Theatre.

The play, which was acted fifteen times between the date of its production in March, 1592, and January 31, 1593, was therefore "in action" when Greene addressed "his quondam acquaintance" in his pamphlet. In any case, Greene's appeal, which proved a most lamentably mistaken appeal to posterity, was brought to some measure of completeness before his death, and was soon afterwards, ere the year was out, edited and brought out in print by Henry Chettle.² It contained, together with other matter not destined to bring blessings on the dead man's name among his fellow-playwrights, the passage which he would probably not have expected to be the best-remembered in all his works and of which he cannot be supposed to have left the application open to doubt:

"There is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers [*i. e.* Greene's, Marlowe's, and those of a third person unknown] that, with his *Tyger's heart wrapt in a player's hide* supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you; and, being an absolute *Johannes factotum*, is, in his own conceit, the only Shake-scene in a country."

Now, it is not, for the present purpose at all events, of decisive importance whether Greene in this passage in-

¹ "Life of Shakespeare," p. 110.

² The earliest edition extant is dated 1596; but there is no reason for supposing it to have differed from that of 1592. Cf. Churton Collins, "Dramatic Works of R. Greene," vol. I, p. 49.

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tended to refer to Shakespeare as a playwright or as a player. The language in itself seems to point to the latter interpretation; but the quotation dragged in (unless a special meaning attached to it beyond our power of guessing), which occurs both in the "True Tragedie" (sc. iii) and in the "Third Part of Henry VI" (Act I, sc. iv), where the speech of which it forms part in the earlier play is almost textually reproduced, seems almost unmistakably to imply that it exemplified a literary plagiarism. But there is no absolute certainty in the case; although after his death Greene was described as having been subjected to the "perloining" of his "plumes,"¹ Henry Chettle in his "Kind Harte's Dreame," published in the following year, 1593, though making what was obviously intended as a general apology to Shakespeare, refrained from disavowing, explicitly or implicitly, Greene's charge against him, whether it was, or was not, one of plagiarism. In any case, the much-disputed passage in the "Groatsworth of Wit" makes it certain that the "True Tragedie" was extant in 1592; and, if plagiarism was the charge intended by Greene, it strongly confirms the probability of the "Third Part of Henry VI" having been then well known on the stage, as well as that other play on "Henry VI" which may be the First Part of the same trilogy.

Little need be added in this place as to the stage history of our trilogy. As is well known, the annals of the English stage by no means always grow more certain as they proceed; and it is not quite clear (and was in fact a subject of dispute on the occasion of the performance of the "First Part of Henry VI" by Mr. Osmond Tearle and his company at the Stratford-on-Avon festival in 1899) whether the piece performed at Covent Garden

¹ "R. B." in "Greene's Funeralls."

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for Delane's benefit in 1738,¹ was the play printed in the Folio of 1623, and perhaps acted by Lord Strange's men in 1592-3, or Crowne's perversion of that play and of the earlier half of the Second Part, produced at Dorset Garden in 1681. In the latter case, Mr. Tearle was the first to produce this First Part on the English stage since the closing of the theatres in 1642. The German production at Weimar in 1864 comprised two plays, Part I and Part II, according to the revision (or version) of F. Dingelstedt. Part II was produced by Messrs. Shepherd and Anderson (the latter playing Jack Cade) at the Surrey Theatre in 1864. With this exception, when until recently "Henry VI" was brought out on the English stage, as in Edmund Kean's farrago of all the three Parts in 1818, it was always condensed into a single play. In any case, Mr. F. R. Benson's production of "Henry VI" in the Endowed Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon on May 2-4, 1906, was the first attempt made since the closing of the theatres in 1642 to produce all the three plays in succession to one another. My present task has been greatly facilitated by the impressions freshly conveyed to me of this memorable performance through the kindness of my friend Miss Alice D. Greenwood, to whom this Introduction is under many other important obligations.

Passing from the history of the trilogy of "Henry VI" to its sources as a whole, we shall not fail to observe that for a dramatic treatment of this reign ample material, of a kind familiar to the reading public in existence, was at the disposal of the playwrights of the Elizabethan age.

¹ See Genest, vol. I, pp. 302 *seq.* This is not reprinted in Crowne's "Works." It was followed by a Second Part, opening with Cade's rebellion, and including the action of "Part III of Henry VI," much garbled. This portion again was utilised by Theophilus Cibber in his "Historical Tragedy of the Civil Wars," etc., produced at Drury Lane in 1723.

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It was to be found in those Chronicles which issued in so rapid a succession from the printing-press of the times. As has been already stated, and will be more fully shown in the course of this Introduction, the "Second and Third Parts of Henry VI" closely followed in the course of their argument two earlier plays, which for convenience' sake I may henceforth cite as "The Contention" and "The True Tragedy"; but these were entirely founded on well-known chronicles, while the slight corrections of statements in the earlier plays occasionally introduced in the Second and Third Parts of "Henry VI" show their authors to have themselves been perfectly conversant with the same popular historical authorities. As to the "First Part of Henry VI," there existed, so far as I am aware, no earlier dramatic model which might have been followed in the action of this play, and it was therefore in all probability compiled throughout directly from the chroniclers.

Among the numerous possible sources, then, which were at the disposal of the authors of the three Parts of "Henry VI" and of the two old plays on which the Second and Third Parts of the trilogy were respectively founded, there can be no doubt that those actually used by them were Halle's "Union of the Two Famous Families of Lancaster and York," printed in 1548; Holinshed's "Chronicle," in the second and complete edition of 1588, and the celebrated series of didactic biographies in verse, which appeared in 1559 under the title of the "Mirror for Magistrates." In a less degree, Fabyan's (edition of 1559) and probably Grafton's "Chronicle" (edition of 1579) were consulted; and it is just possible that Stowe's "Annales" (1580) and Monstrelet's "Chronique" (1572) should be added to the list. In any case, the influence of

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Halle and Holinshed upon our Chronicle Histories and other early English historical plays—and, consequently, upon the formation of a stereotyped popular conception of a whole period of our national history—can hardly be overrated.¹

Whether for the main course of the story as exhibited in the trilogy, Halle or Holinshed was actually used, it is impossible to say; for Holinshed copied Halle and Grafton wholesale, as Grafton did Halle. But we

¹ The following note may from the above point of view be acceptable. "The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth" (supposed to have as early a date as 1580, acted at all events before 1588, and entered at Stationers' Hall in 1594) could not have been based on the second edition of Holinshed; the earlier (1577) seems to have enjoyed less popularity; and no incident in this Chronicle History—not even the celebrated "tennis balls"—can be traced to Holinshed alone, while several details are to be found in Stowe; the death-bed scene of Henry IV is in Halle (who took it from Monstrelet); some things appear to have been taken over from Titus Livius. Marlowe's "Edward II" (1589, printed 1594) is unmistakably founded in the main on Holinshed, though a few details are taken from Stowe and one song from Fabian. "Sir Thomas More" (1590) is from Halle, or from Holinshed, who conveys Halle *in toto*, and from certain well-known biographies. "The Troublesome Raigne of King John" (acted 1589, printed 1591) is from Holinshed, with the exception of a few incidents, among them Falconbridge's sack of the monasteries; and perhaps also from the "Mirror for Magistrates." Peele's "Chronicle History of Edward I" (1593) is from Holinshed, though the historical material in this play is so meagre that it might well have been taken from any chronicle, while Holinshed runs counter to the play in one or two minor particulars and in the praise of Queen Eleanor, of whose crime and fate (the sources of which cannot here be discussed) he says nothing. "The True Tragedy of Richard III" (1594) is based mainly on Holinshed, who, like Halle, was powerfully influenced by Sir Thomas More's "History of Edward V and Richard III," published (incomplete) in English in 1509,—a work which may have been inspired by Henry VII's Chancellor, Cardinal Morton, but which is no longer held to have been written by him in its Latin form. "Edward III" (1595), which has been attributed to Shakespeare, appears, so far as the story of Edward and the Countess of Salisbury is concerned, to have been founded on Painter's "Palace of Pleasure" (1575) and perhaps on some old ballads, although a good deal of it is in Froissart (not all translated by Lord Berners); other incidents are taken from Holinshed. Of Greene's "Scottish History of James the Fourth" (printed 1598) the source had not been discovered by Dyce or by D. Laing; Mr. P. A. Daniel traced the source of this quite unhistorical chronicle to a story in Cinthio's "Hecatomithia," dramatised by Cinthio himself in his "Arrenopia." Cf. Churton Collins, "Plays and Poems of Robert Greene," vol. II, p. 80. "George-a-Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield" (1599), which has been ascribed to Greene, was probably founded on an old prose "History of George-a-Greene," of which, however, no early impression exists; the earliest printed copy is dated 1706. Cf. Churton Collins, *ib.* p. 103.

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shall probably not go far wrong in assuming Part I to be indebted chiefly to Halle, and the corrections and additions made in and to the text of the two old plays and embodied in Parts II and III of "Henry VI" to be generally derived from Holinshed. But the conceptions of the several characters in all three Parts—often merely adumbrated in the "Contention" and "True Tragedy"—are due to Halle and to the "Mirror for Magistrates." The latter work was itself in part indebted to Halle; but it supplied the conceptions of several minor characters in the plays, which, hardly less than Halle's more important characters, appear to have become accepted as part of a fixed tradition. Halle was Yorkist in sympathy, and strongly biassed against the Beauforts and Suffolk; Holinshed tones down Halle's adjectives, and indeed seems to avoid preserving the dramatic impressions so strongly created by his original.

The dependence of the writer or writers of "Henry VI," and of those of the earlier plays on which it was in part founded, on so limited a range of authorities (though far from exceptional) may help to account in some measure for the imperfect justice done by them to the opportunities of their theme. On the subject of these opportunities I have already cited Dr. Furnivall; but it may be worth while to add a few words in illustration of the fact that not every historical dramatist, nor even a great historical dramatist whose powers have not yet reached their maturity, is capable of reproducing in relation to a given theme all that history suggests as to the human interest presented by the characters belonging to it.

Thus, if in "Henry VI" we seem to find reproduced the essential characteristics of Queen Margaret, the one

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heroine of the trilogy, such is hardly the case with the pathetic personality of her less fortunate consort. Queen Margaret appears as what she no doubt was, a woman of uncommon ability, whose judgment of the action necessary in situations of extraordinary difficulty was rarely at fault—except in the instance of her failure to advance upon London after the second battle of St. Albans, a proceeding by which, in the view of more than one historian, both King and Queen might have been preserved. Her private letters show her to have worked hard in the interest of all her dependents as well as in her husband's and her late-born son's; and it is only a dramatic fiction, which has no basis of historical fact and which seems to derogate from the Queen's notability, that represents her as falling in love with Suffolk, the heir of Cardinal Beaufort's policy and of his unpopularity (much in the manner in which another Queen — Catherine¹ — according to a story which found its way to the stage, fell in love with Owen Tudor). While the interest aroused by a powerful historical figure is thus unnecessarily supplemented, the character of Henry VI is presented with, at the best, imperfect sympathy. It is true that the King is never wholly lost in the meek-minded and generally meek-mannered dreamer who passes across the scene almost like a shadow; nor was this royal self-consciousness altogether wanting in the real Henry, who, when as a prisoner in the Tower his patience was tried by intrusive visitors, was wont to reply to them with a curious mixture of humility and pride.² But, on the one hand, the full

¹ It was a lamentable incident in a delightful national and artistic experience — the Bury St. Edmunds Pageant of 1907 — to have to witness the survival of this and other fictions in the Henry VI episode.

² Bishop Stubbs (vol. III, p. 201) quotes from Blakeman: "When pressed by

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pathos of the long-protracted situation, which was at the same time the best warrant for the opposition offered to Henry's government by both high and low, can hardly be said to be brought out in the dramatic narrative. No mention is made of his imbecility and apathy of mind, which periodically rendered him, like a much later English sovereign, incapable of performing the ordinary duties of life, and which left him dumb and uninterested, even when his new-born son was brought into his presence. He looked at the child for an instant, and then, without a word, "caste doune his eyene agen."¹ This melancholy aspect of Henry's life is left out for obvious reasons, but to present and account for it would have been a task worthy of a great dramatist. On the other hand, it is difficult to suppress a wish, that, instead of King Henry's royal contempt for common men being emphasised in a striking passage,² opportunity had been found in the course of the trilogy for giving expression to what was the noblest and humanest side of his character — his love of learning and religion (for the two were of course to his mind inseparable), by virtue of which his name has become a memory of something besides ignorance and misfortune.

To Edward IV — unlike Henry VI surely one of the least interesting of our kings — fair treatment seems to be

some impertinent person to justify his usurpation, he used to answer, 'My father had been King of England, possessing his crown in peace all through his reign; and his father, my grandfather, had been King of the same realm. And I, when a boy in the cradle, had been without any interval crowned in peace and approved as King by the whole realm, and wore the crown for well-nigh forty years, every lord doing royal homage to me, and swearing fealty as they had done to my forefathers. . . . My help cometh of God, who preserveth them that are true of heart.'"

¹ Quoted from the news-letter printed in Gairdner's in the "Paston Letters," No. 195, by Sir James Ramsay, "Lancaster and York," vol. II, p. 168.

² Part III, Act III, sc. i.

THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI

accorded in the trilogy which bears the name of his rival. The contrast between them — not in physical stature only; for Edward was most uncommon tall, while Henry appears to have been diminutive in size — may, together with the personal beauty attributed to Edward, have gone some way towards accounting for his popularity with the Londoners, or at all events with their wives, since, as Part III does not fail to indicate, no prince was ever more of a squire of dames. But, of course, it was the close connexion between the line of York and the house of Burgundy which counted for most in the value attached to the ascendancy of the former by the classes principally concerned with trade and industry. At the same time it is unquestionable that his military ability was greater than that which can justly be ascribed to most of the commanders in the Civil War of the two Roses — to Warwick in particular, the great King-maker, who made kings by his skill as a politician rather than by his prowess as a soldier. To be sure, military ability — or at least the conditions under which it proves itself such — is one of those qualities which “our” or any stage cannot pretend to demonstrate. Richard, Duke of York, Edward’s IV’s father, and predecessor in that dukedom which it was only an after-thought on the son’s part to make the basis of a claim to the throne,¹ exhibits neither in history nor in the trilogy the power of controlling events, instead of being controlled by them; and, in point of fact, there is no perceptible individuality about him. Of the younger two of the three York brothers, Clarence, as depicted in the trilogy, furnishes, as we may

¹ “Richard could not fail to be acquainted with the history of his own family, and he had been careful not to advance any personal claims, unless the assumption of the surname ‘Plantagenet’ could be considered such.” Ramsay, *u. s.*, vol. II, p. 134. It would be difficult to show that he was aiming at the crown before 1459, three years after the close of his second Protectorate.

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believe him to have done in life, an example, conspicuous even among his contemporaries, of sheer unimaginative eagerness for the advancement of his own interests. Far subtler, as well as more strenuous, was the nature of Richard Duke of Gloucester; but in his case, as will be shown at length in the "Introduction to Richard III," a definite conception had already fixed itself before our trilogy and that play sought to elaborate, develop, and in a measure account for it. In the Richard of Gloucester of the trilogy nothing is more notable than the imperious sense of commanding force which distinguishes the character from the first, accompanied throughout by a mocking irony, which, in the Elizabethan age, could hardly clothe itself in any other form than that of the Scriptural or quasi-Scriptural speech so specially affected by the Puritans.

But we have been carried on towards the close of "Henry VI" without having as yet touched upon the general treatment of historical personages prominent in the earlier portions of the action of the trilogy. At the outset of the reign of Henry VI, the inherent difficulties of government and country were, as is well known, aggravated by the dissensions between those upon whom, during the sovereign's long minority, a special responsibility for the care of state affairs could not but be held to devolve. Unluckily, it was thought indispensable to entrust the preservation of the English rule in France to the Duke of Bedford, who had best claim to the chief control of affairs at home, and who, as "a sober-minded statesman of the best English type,"¹ might very possibly have exercised it with the acquiescence of those who stood next to him in birth or in service. It thus became impossible for Bedford, except by occasional intervention, to do what he might have done

¹ Ramsay, *u. s.*, vol. I, p. 323.

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towards maintaining the Lancaster dynasty and averting the Wars of the Roses; while at the same time, by no clearly assignable fault of his own, he failed in carrying out the special task allotted to him. Yet he is not wholly to be compassionated; for his character, partly no doubt because no faction in the state had any interest in traducing it, remains untarnished by the misrepresentations of either chronicler or dramatist.

Very different was the case of the two foremost representatives of the Lancastrian interest who, during Bedford's absence, disputed with one another the control of the English administration, and whom in 1425, on a visit paid by him to England for the purpose, he attempted to reconcile. Henry Beaufort and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, though with intervals during which a *modus vivendi* obtained between them, and with one pretence of a reconciliation on the occasion just mentioned, carried on their contention, till a strange dispensation of fate ended the lives of both, within a few months in the early part of a single year (1447). Probably no two English public men have ever been so persistently misjudged as this pair of antagonists. It is true that this misjudgment is of a very different kind, and has a very different origin, in the one and in the other instance; and it must also be allowed that the "Henry VI" plays do not adopt it to the same extent in both cases. On the character of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester these plays cannot be said to cast any light such as might have contributed either to a deeper or a more veracious interpretation of it; while as to Cardinal Beaufort, they have simply contributed to heighten a prejudice already cruel enough in its injustice. Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, was a great ecclesiastical potentate, whose consistent aim it was to augment both his public and his private resources;

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for it is quite clear that he had recognised how in the age in which he lived — probably at least as much as it has been in any other period of our national life — wealth was the most effective support of political and social influence. But he was also a prelate of his church who, in his life and when he was thinking of his death, was singularly awake to the beneficent ends which it has in all times been the highest privilege of wealth to seek to further.¹ Not less certain is it that Henry Beaufort was from first to last desirous of accommodating the entire course of his action as to both Church and State to the interests of the Lancastrian dynasty, with which he was by birth connected and with whose fortunes his own were of course closely bound up; and it would be difficult to show that he at any time either misrepresented or misunderstood those interests. In Henry V's reign, he encouraged the prosecution of the French war, and was largely responsible for the conclusion of the Burgundian alliance which was essential to its success. Later, in Henry VI's days, he identified himself with the policy of peace, showing a magnanimous as well as statesmanlike contempt for the unpopularity which such a policy entailed. His relations to the Papacy are more obscure; but they concern the scheme of our trilogy very little, except in so far as Beaufort's Cardinalate (which has been called the

¹ This is very forcibly shown in a lecture on "The Life and Times of Cardinal Beaufort," published in 1880, by the present Archdeacon Fearon, the late headmaster of Winchester. Dr. Fearon gives good reason for believing that it was to Beaufort that the foundation of Eton and King's Colleges was originally due; at all events every detail as to the new foundations was submitted to him by the King, and their endowments were increased by the Cardinal's will. I must not venture to suggest that Beaufort's interest in University life may have dated from the time when he had a chamber in Peterhouse (see J. H. Wylie in "Historical MSS., First Report," p. 78; Cf. Mr. Wylie's "Henry IV," vol. III, p. 263; see also Dr. T. A. Walker, "Peterhouse," London, 1906, where it appears that Beaufort paid 20s., *pro pensione camerae*, whilst in the same year a bachelor of the University paid 6s. 8d. under the same head). Mr. Wylie has exploded the story of Beaufort's having been at the University of Aachen, which of course should be Oxford.

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great mistake of his life) unmistakeably contributed to his unpopularity. At all events no ecclesiastical interests could with him ever take precedence over national ; and this he showed, at a critical moment, by transferring, in 1429, the troops which he had levied for a Catholic crusade in Bohemia to the service of the Crown, when an endeavour was made to recover the English position in France after the fatal battle of Patay. During the last few years of his life — apparently from the conclusion of the King's marriage in 1445 — the Cardinal had withdrawn from politics, in which he had been a constant factor for nearly half a century, and devoted himself to the interests of his diocese. Thus, apart from the fact of his exceptional wealth — a circumstance which seems to have irritated the popular consciousness in the fifteenth century very much as it does in the twentieth — it would not be easy to understand why the chroniclers and dramatists of the Tudor period should have imbibed so ill-founded and vehement a prejudice against him, imparting to him even a degree of criminality which is held to be appropriately attested by self-torment in the hour of death, were it not that they were children of their times. To the Reformation age a powerful and wealthy Cardinal (whether his name were Wolsey or Beaufort) signified an offender on a grand scale against both the human and the divine order of things.¹ Nevertheless, the perpetuation of the calumnies against Cardinal Beaufort with which the trilogy of "Henry VI" is chargeable, remains, with a single exception, the worst offence against historical truth (in no trivial sense of the term) which it contains.

This exception is not the treatment of the character of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. Here, instead of

¹ Compare Pauli's "Englische Geschichte," vol. V, p. 286, note.

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recording a blind adherence to the perversity of popular censure, we have rather to notice the neglect of elements that might have added life and variety to the kindly *unisono* of popular praise. Humphrey Duke of Gloucester—"the good Duke," as after his death he came to be called—was a prince of no very exalted character or commanding ability; and the long-enduring sentiment which attached itself to his name was probably due to pity for his supposed cruel fate as well as to the tradition of his good will towards the commons, and to an actual pleasantness of manner which, as we know, is royalty's unfailing passport to popular favour. Neither his position nor his qualities ever secured to him a commanding influence over the policy of the state. His early projects of obtaining the inheritance of Jacqueline, the heiress of Holland and Hainault, were seen to be dictated by a desire of personal aggrandisement, and had to be dropped; nor was he chivalrous enough to remain true to his wedded wife. He afterwards favoured the policy of war in France; but he was without such resources as those which gave importance to his uncle and rival's support of the same line of action beyond the narrow seas, while in home affairs he confined himself to the manœuvres of selfish intrigue. Probably no higher motive animated his activity against the Lollards, when in 1431 their flysheets were "about every good town in England" denouncing the clergy who were possessors of property, and advocating a community of goods. He laid hands on some of their leaders, and secured from the Privy Council a pecuniary recompense of his services to the orthodox religion. These earlier occurrences the dramatic version of Henry VI's reign not unnaturally ignores; but it like-

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wise has nothing to say about Duke Humphrey's relations to learning and science, which connect his name as that of an early literary benefactor with the history of the University of Oxford, and which continue to engage the attention of modern students.¹ Our trilogy occupies itself mainly with the Duke's fall, and with the prelude to it supplied by the strange trial and cruel penance of Eleanor Cobham, Duke Humphrey's mistress, for whom, though they were probably never actually married, he had secured more or less formal recognition as his wife. The episode of her collapse is appropriately introduced into this chronicle of violent ambitions and their consequences; although the question as to Eleanor's actual guilt, or as to the length to which her restless spirit carried her, is of course one that will never be solved. Humphrey of Gloucester was not shamed by the catastrophe of his partner, or by his inability to hold out to her a helping hand, into withdrawal from public life. But his political influence was thenceforth at an end, and his final downfall had become only a question of time. That it was marked by his murder seems, though a natural, to be an unproved, assumption. Humphrey was physically as well as morally an utter wreck when he passed away, after he had been arrested for treason at the Bury Parliament (1447). The repetition of the story of the murder of the "good Duke" in the play

¹ See the attractive chapter "Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, fragment of a princely life in the fifteenth century," in R. Pauli's "Pictures of Old England." English translation by Miss Otté, 1861.

According to Ramsay, vol. II, p. 76, note, of the 247 books presented by the Duke to the University, three remain in the Bodleian, besides a scriptural commentary written for him by Capgrave at Oriel. He also contributed to the building of the University Schools. Bishop Bekyngton and Pecock, the liberally minded author of the "Repressor," as well as Titus Livius, whose "Life of Henry V" is held to mark the beginning of the classical Renaissance in England, were both patronised by the Duke.

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may be regarded as one more attestation of the popularity which so long clung to his name, but which was originally due to negative rather than to positive reasons—to the fact that he was not a foreigner, not a friend to the Queen, and not a priest.¹

At the other end of the social scale, according to a view of things which in no Elizabethan drama asserts itself more pointedly than in this trilogy, stands the popular agitation which for a moment obliged King Henry VI and the oligarchical factions around him to treat with it on terms of equality. To the author of the famous Jack Cade scenes the aim of the rising which he ruthlessly caricatures seemed sheer topsyturvydom; henceforth “seven halfpenny loaves were to be sold for a penny”; all the realm was to be in common; Jack Cade the clothier was to be King; and Lord Say must lose his head because he could speak French and therefore was a traitor—moreover, had he not most treacherously corrupted the youth of the realm by erecting a grammar school?² As a matter of fact, the anarchy which reached its height in the insurrection of 1450 was the inevitable result of a weakness of government which had long continued. In 1441–43 there had been a series of disturbances in different counties, due in part to private feuds, in part to fanatical preaching, and in the north to a determination not to submit to the exactions of the Archbishop of York’s spiritual courts. Early in 1450 troubles began in Kent, which

¹ For an illustration of the attitude of the Tudor age towards historical truth, the reader may be referred to the exposition in Bishop Latimer’s sermon to King Edward VI, cited below, of the merits of the contention between Winchester and Gloucester.

² This last is a curious touch. Is it conceivably to be traced to memories of the Pilgrimage of Grace and the grievances connected with the Dissolution of the Monasteries?

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communicated themselves to several southern counties. The rising headed in May by "Jack Cade," which from Kent spread into Surrey and Sussex, seems to have been something very different from a Peasants' War or Jacquerie, or from what Sir Humphrey Stafford in the play denounces as a rabblement of

"Rebellious hinds, the filth and scum of Kent,
Mark'd for the gallows."

Whether Cade himself was or was not a physician by profession, he seems beyond doubt to have been a man of respectable position, who had not improbably seen service in France.¹ That he should have taken the name of Mortimer, alleging his kinship to the Duke of York as the natural son of the last Earl of March, was in the circumstances a very pardonable fiction; though perhaps, as in similar instances of imposture in this age, had his insurrection spread to a great distance from the manor of Cade, the pretence might have assumed bolder proportions.² As it was, the Yorkists seem generally to have identified themselves with Cade's attempt in its earlier stages. But, factitious partisanship apart, there were among his followers many men of substance — yeomen and not a few squires; and in Kent and East Sussex the armed rising was organised on the lines of a regular county levy. Its avowed object was not the overthrow of all government, but the establishment of a strong rule, such as would in especial protect the tenure of land against the force, fraud, and chi-

¹ There seems to be some evidence that Cade may have been a Somerset man, possibly from Bridgwater, — a possession of Richard Duke of York.

² In Act IV, sc. ii, in reply to the accusation that he has been "put up" to his imposture by the Duke of York, Cade says: "He lies, for I invented it myself." Yet he had no reason for laying claim to much originality on this score. I have often wondered why no attempt has been made to write a comparative history of this sort of impostures in the later Middle Ages.

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canery which had long rendered it wholly insecure.¹ The loss of Normandy, which had been the real cause of Suffolk's catastrophe earlier in the year, was as a matter of fact only put forward by the insurgents as a secondary grievance; but the very circumstance that they should have shown their concern at what was regarded as a national calamity shows them to have been Englishmen animated by patriotic feelings.² The systematic misrepresentation in the play of the general character of "Jack Cade's" rising, which extends to the incidents of his capture, is significant of the spirit of the later Tudor age, when a strong government was strongest in the goodwill of the great body of a self-confident nation. But how deep the popular discontent had sunk in days of the greatest weakness of Henry VI's government is shown by its having been attributed at Court to the popular preachers — whose voice may be regarded as that of the people itself.³

I will conclude these few remarks on the treatment of historical truth in this trilogy by referring to a character in it which has naturally enough been subjected to much indignant censure. The glorious figure of Jeanne Darc, the *Pucelle* of history, after the most conscientious and painstaking enquiry, stands wholly free from the least of the stains which envy, hatred and malice had left upon it. While at the court of Charles VII neither the Maid's miraculous achievements nor the ecclesiastical approval which they had earned converted those who looked askance at

¹ No more convincing evidence of the force of this fundamental grievance of the insurgents could be desired than that which is furnished in the "Paston Letters."

² Cf. Ramsay, *u. s.*, vol. II, pp. 125 *seq.*; and see also Pauli, *u. s.*, vol. V, p. 307, where the connexion is noted which is supposed to have existed between the Kentish insurgents and the sailors whose murder of Suffolk forms one of the most impressive scenes of the play, and one in entire accordance with historical fact.

³ Lord Say, the most prominent victim of the insurrection, and other persons of influence, allowed no one to preach before the King until after submitting to them the proposed sermon.

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her to a whole-hearted acceptance of her patriotic mission. The English soldiery whom she drove out of Orleans and who fled panic-stricken before her at Patay regarded her simply as a witch whose powers were derived direct from the Evil One ; nor was it till the moment of her capture that the spell which her prowess and her faith had wrought was broken. A memorandum drawn up some years afterwards by Bedford, whose long labours this simple adversary had undone, attests his conviction that her success, the effects of which he sought in no way to underrate, was due to the lack of sound faith in the English soldiery opposed to her in the field, and to the misbelieving doubts caused in them by this disciple and limb of the Fiend and her use of false enchantments and sorcery.¹ In other words, while this brave and honourable Englishman himself entertained no doubts as to the diabolical origin of the Pucelle and all her doings, a manly faith in the God who masters devils would have overcome her. But Bedford did not say — though she was in English hands at the time of her imprisonment in the shameful tower which still lifts its head at Rouen, and though the power of England was an accomplice in her trial before a spiritual court — what was the nature of the durance and of the process undergone by her. We know that instructions had been given by King Henry that, if she were acquitted, she should be detained in his keeping. And we know what steps were taken to avert that acquittal. In order to do her to death, foul means of every kind were employed by those who had conspired to destroy her — including the perversion of her answers, the insertion in the records of the proceedings of false and brutally injurious statements, the infliction of all the hardships

¹ Cf. Ramsay, *u. s.*, vol. I, p. 398.

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of the dungeon, and the terrors of threatened torture.¹ It was virtually Bedford who sent her to her doom, though French bishops share the responsibility of her death with the English statesman; Beaufort too is stated to have been present at her execution, and (more dubiously) to have ordered her ashes to be thrown into the Seine. Such is said to have been the fate, when Henry VI entered Paris a few months later, of the young shepherd who had tried to play her part over again. We are naturally apt to overlook the craven desertion of the Pucelle by the King, who owed to her his crown, in view of the bigoted abhorrence which was the one feeling entertained towards her by Bedford and the English Court. But it is impossible to ignore the fact that, though the prejudices of her foes might, in the unhappy episode of the *Pucelle* in the "First Part of Henry VI" have accepted as true the monstrous fiction of her colloquy with the fiends, those who were directly responsible for her doom must have known the abominable accusations suggested in the following scene (derived, as a matter of fact, from the English chroniclers) to be themselves nothing but diabolical lies.

I do not think that it is necessary to touch, except in passing, on a very different aspect of the relations, actual or supposed, to history of the "Henry VI" plays. The late Mr. Richard Simpson, a writer whose range of knowledge was only less notable than his subtlety of mind, was at the pains of attempting to demonstrate in "Henry VI" a series of veiled allusions to the condition of affairs in England, "when Leicester ruled the roast by ruling the Queen." He makes light of the circumstance that the favourite's death took place in 1588 (citing, as likewise composed after that event, Nashe's Apologue of the

¹ Cf. Pauli, *u. s.*, vol. V, p. 224.

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Bear in "Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication"); while he attaches much weight to the fact that in "Leicester's Commonwealth" the reign of Henry VI is specially noted as similar to that of Elizabeth. But the parallels which he is able to suggest are so remarkably vague and florid, that I do not think it worth while to dwell further upon what seems nothing more than an ingenious paradox.¹

I have come to the conclusion that it would be unwarrantable and against kind on the present occasion to follow the example of those writers who have dealt with the three Parts of "Henry VI" mainly from the point of view of the authorship of the several dramas, and have accordingly felt themselves justified in discussing the Second and Third Parts before dealing, and naturally more briefly, with the First. This method was adopted by the late Mr. Grant White² and his faithful follower Mr. G. L. Rives;³ by Mr Fleay;⁴ and by Miss Jane Lee,⁵ whose inquiry into the whole subject I have re-read with increased admiration of the completeness of her research, as well as of the lucidity of her argument; and I have resorted to it myself in a previous summary introduction to "Henry VI."⁶ But here, where the text of the plays awaits and invites study, the relations of the several portions of that text to one another are best treated as an open question. Moreover, it would be

¹ See Richard Simpson, "On the Politics of Shakspeare's Historical Plays" in "New Shakspeare Society's Transactions," 1874, pp. 419 *seq.*

² "Works of William Shakspeare." Boston, 1859, vol. VII. See also "Posthumous Studies on Shakspeare," 1885.

³ Harness Prize Essay. Cambridge, 1874.

⁴ "Who wrote Henry VI?" in "Macmillan's Magazine," November, 1875. See also "The Marlowe Group of Plays" in Mr. Fleay's "Life of Shakspeare."

⁵ "On the Authorship of Parts II and III of Henry VI" (with supplements). "New Shakspeare Society's Transactions," 1875-6.

⁶ "History of English Dramatic Literature" (2d ed.), 1899, vol. II, pp. 58-74.

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unfair, whatever may be the true version of the process by which these three plays were combined into a single trilogy, to criticise any one part of that trilogy—or indeed any portion of a chronicle history—by itself. Even in the “First Part of Henry VI,” “scrappy” and unactable as it may appear when presented on the modern stage, many things manifestly have found a place because of the dramatic requirements of the ensuing Parts; and results, however crude, should not be judged out of their connexion with a general design. Even on the assumption that Shakespeare’s share in Part I was confined to particular scenes or passages inserted by him in other men’s handiwork, it must have been his purpose to offer all these three Parts as a single theatrical whole, which his fellow-actors who made themselves responsible for the first collected edition of his plays thought themselves justified in designating as his. In other words, he considered the “First Part” indispensable for an intelligent appreciation of the Second and Third. And indeed, how could it have been otherwise?

Beyond a doubt the “Henry VI” plays in their whole character belong to that group of Shakespearean histories which deal with the great dynastic struggle between the houses of Lancaster and York, rather than to the group, maturer in treatment, which in the chronology of its subjects begins with “King John” and closes with “Henry V.” In the history of the Shakespearean drama these two groups may be said to be connected together by “Richard II.” While “Richard III” is, like “Henry VI,” still to all intents the dramatisation (with whatever amount of freedom) of historical narrative, “Richard II” is already, as Grant White describes it, a tragic dramatic poem founded upon historical events; but the emancipation of

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the dramatic action from the epical matter is complete in "King John," as it is in "Henry IV" and in "Henry V." "Henry VIII" stands apart; though in "Henry VI"¹ as well as in "Richard III" the accession of the Tudor dynasty is kept in view as the solution of the country's troubles, the author or authors of "Henry VIII" in their turn have in mind a later consummation. It is likewise undeniable that the connexion between "Henry VI" (or the First Part of it) and "Henry V" cannot be regarded as organic. The last six lines of the Epilogue to "Henry V," which I cite in a note for reference,² and whose bearing upon the question of the authorship of "Henry VI" and of the First Part of it in particular will be discussed further on, are certainly very far from representing "Henry VI" as anything like a continuation of "Henry V." Nor in truth could there easily have been a more extraordinary progress in artistic power and merit than that which the latter play exhibits as compared with the trilogy. And yet the instinct — shall we say the editorial instinct — was a sound one which regarded the Second and Third Parts of "Henry VI" as incomplete without the First. They treat of the collapse of the house of Lancaster and the rise, notwithstanding the catastrophe of its chief, of the rival house; but this collapse and its consequences were due to a period of weakness, discord, and misgovernment that could not be fully displayed without an exposition of their most palpable result, with which the later Parts

¹ See King Henry's speech to young Richmond in the "Third Part of Henry VI," Act IV, sc. vi.

² "Henry the sixth, in infant bands crowned King
Of France and England, did this King succeed;
Whose state so many had the managing
That they lost France, and made his England bleed:
Which oft our stage hath shown; and, for their sake,
In your fair minds let this acceptance take."

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could only incidentally concern themselves — namely, the loss of France. It is true that in actual history this loss was not complete till an advanced period of Henry VI's reign; for the end of the Hundred Years' War has to be dated from the final loss of Bordeaux in 1453. But the author or authors of "Henry VI" fully availed themselves of the freedom in the manipulation of dates open to dramatists, so that the death of the Talbots in Gascony is advanced into Part I; and, as a matter of fact, the beginning of the end had arrived when Suffolk sacrificed Maine in order to secure for his master the hand of Margaret of Anjou (1444-45), and a further irretrievable stage in its accomplishment had been the loss of Normandy during the ascendancy of the same Suffolk (1450). The loss of France, so galling to English pride, thus brings home to the spectator or reader more effectively than this could be done in any other way a condition of things in which England itself was to slip out of the hold of the reigning house.

I propose, therefore, in the first instance to deal with the "First Part of Henry VI" as it stands, with the impressions which it creates, and with the sources to which it was indebted.

The events with which Part I is concerned are for the most part such as occurred between the accession of Henry VI to the throne, when nine months of age, in September, 1422, and his marriage to Margaret of Anjou on April 23, 1445. These are, so to speak, the chronological landmarks of the play; but since, as already indicated, its primary purpose was to exhibit the decline and fall of the English power in France, where its scene is for the most part laid, it is to this purpose that the course of affairs

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and the order of events introduced have to accommodate themselves.¹

It may be useful, before proceeding further, to illustrate this cardinal fact by a reference to the successive acts and scenes of the play. It opens (Act I, sc. i) with the exequies of Henry V, who died in 1422; but most of the events of which the humiliating tidings are brought to the side of the royal hero's bier happened long after his death,—some, as will be seen a little further on, never happened at all. The news of Talbot's abandonment of his march on Orleans, and his retreat on Patay (though artfully dated as having taken place on "the tenth of August last"), could not have arrived before the end of June, 1429—as it was on the 18th of that month that Talbot was defeated and taken prisoner at Patay. The siege of Orleans, with which sc. ii of the same act is concerned, began in October, 1428. The quarrel between Gloucester and Beaufort, which follows in sc. iii, is not seriously misplaced, as its origin was probably the proceedings in council in the course of January, 1427.² The release of Talbot from prison, which enables him in sc. iv to take part in the siege of Orleans (which had been raised in May, 1429) actually occurred in 1433 (or 1434).

In Act II the first historical event (for all the preceding scenes are fictitious) is the death, in sc. v, of

¹ I content myself with directing attention to the very able, and in some respects very suggestive application of his method of a "Time-Analysis of the Plots of Shakespeare's Plays" by Mr. P. A. Daniel, to the trilogy of "Henry VI." See "New Shakspeare Society's Transactions," 1877-9, pp. 298, *seq.* He brings the First Part into eight days (with certain intervals), while the actual historical period covered by its main course may be reckoned at two years and four months.

² A short account of the quarrel is to be found in the anonymous "Chronicle of London" (Cleopatra, CIV), which is alone in stating that "the Mayor of london," with his city following, "stood by" Gloucester "ageyne the Bysshop of Winchester." In "Chronicles of London," ed. by C. L. Kingsford, Oxford, 1905, p. 130.

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Mortimer (1425); though it actually took place in Ireland, and not, as in the play, in the Tower. The quarrel in Parliament between the king's "uncles of Gloucester and of Winchester," in sc. i of Act III, follows on well enough; though its actual outbreak was not in London, but in Leicester at the "Parliament of Bats" (so called because, other weapons being prohibited, those who entered the town were armed with clubs, like London 'prentices). But the events in France are again very "mixed" as to their dates. A French attempt to take Rouen was made in August, 1431, but some months after the death of the Pucelle, who in sc. ii "joineth Rouen with her countrymen"; and Bedford, who dies in the same scene, did not actually expire (at Rouen, after his repulse at Lagny) till 1435. The Duke of Burgundy's desertion of the English side (sc. iii) follows on appropriately, inasmuch as it actually occurred in this year 1435; but it is needless to observe that the Pucelle had no concern in it—she had been martyred four years earlier. After this it seems but a trifling inaccuracy that, in sc. iv, Talbot should be created Earl of Shrewsbury at Paris; the peerage was really conferred on him at home in England, in 1442.

In Act IV, sc. i, we are taken back to the year 1431, when the young King Henry VI was crowned at Paris (in Notre Dame, not in "a hall of state"), as a counter-demonstration to the coronation of Charles VII at Rheims; but we very suddenly move forward, as already pointed out, in scenes ii-vii, which are concerned with the expedition, in 1452, of Shrewsbury (Talbot) to Gascony, his recovery of Bordeaux, and his defeat and death before Chatillon. Act V with further audacity gathers up such threads of the narrative as remain to be collected

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for the purposes of the play, and especially for establishing a continuity with the action that is to follow in the later Parts. In sc. i we hear of the project of marrying King Henry to a daughter of Count John of Armagnac,¹ which was put forward in 1442; and in the same scene the Bishop of Winchester appears as a newly created cardinal, whereas the historical Henry Beaufort had been granted permission to accept the long coveted hat as far back as 1427. In sc. iii the English attack Angers, of which Salisbury abandoned the siege in 1428; and in the same scene the Pucelle, who first came forward in 1429, and was not made a captive till the following year, is taken prisoner by the English (she was really taken by the Burgundians). Suffolk's capture of and by Margaret in the same scene is of course fictitious; but between scenes iv (the condemnation of the Pucelle) and v (Henry's commission to Suffolk to secure Margaret's hand for the King) there intervened in history a period of thirteen years (1431-44).

Though the chronology of the "First Part of Henry VI" is thus desperately confused, and almost suggests the notion that every notable incident of the reign not dramatised in the "Contention" and "True Tragedy," and accordingly used in the Second or the Third Part, has been forced into service, yet all the scenes are taken direct from the chroniclers, with three exceptions of importance. These are the three romantic scenes which have not hitherto proved traceable to any known source; namely, Act II, sc. ii (Talbot and the Countess of Auvergne); Act II, sc. iv (the

¹ In the play he has but one daughter; he actually had three, and Henry VI, with an exercise of volition uncommon in him, insisted that, after seeing the portraits of each, he should be allowed to choose between them.

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famous plucking of the roses in the Temple Garden); and Act V, sc. iii (the capture of Margaret by Suffolk and his falling in love with her). The substance of the play is, as already stated, to be found in both Halle and Holinshed; but one incident (Act I, sc. ii) occurs in Holinshed alone; another (Act IV, scenes v and vi) in Halle alone; and a third (Act III, sc. i) only in Fabyan. The vindication of Gloucester and the charges against Cardinal Beaufort came from Halle and the "Mirror." A few touches may indicate an acquaintance with Monstrelet (the Paris edition of 1572).

Act I. — The opening scene, which begins with the funeral of King Henry V, is admirably conceived, and its first forty-seven lines at all events show an animation which falls away in the course of Bedford's patriotic speech. It was not suggested by any authority; and, as already noted, a host of striking events are inevitably antedated, in order to compress the various elements of the needful exposition into the first scene of the play. The list of the possessions lost in France is, like that of the Dauphin's supporters, merely a recital of well-known names. All the events mentioned, including the Messenger's circumstantial account of the battle of Patay and Fastolf's flight "without stroke stricken" are, with the exception of the "base Walloon's" thrust, to be found in both Halle and Holinshed; it may be worth mentioning that Monstrelet gives 6000 as the original number of Salisbury's troops, and says that Henry VI landed at Calais on "St. George's day." Even the "oaths to Henry sworn" (l. 162) may refer to the chroniclers' report of Henry V's injunction never to treat with the Dauphin. Again, the resolve of Winchester (who steps forward in approved style at the end of the scene to announce himself as the villain of the play) to kidnap the

THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI

king at Eltham, was suggested by Gloucester's allegation in 1426 of this as a charge against his rival.

In scene ii, which opens with a simile of novel force, but which cannot lay claim to much general distinction of style, the account of the siege of Orleans, and the references to Talbot and Salisbury, are drawn from the two chronicles, though Talbot had not at the time been taken prisoner. Ll. 9-13 look like a forecast of "Henry V," Act III, sc. vii, ll. 138 *seq.* Though the Pucelle was not introduced to Charles by the Bastard, he afterwards became one of her principal supporters, and his prominence in the play only reflects the constant mention of him by the chronicles. The details of the interview between the Pucelle and the Dauphin (of which Schiller afterwards made so poetic a use) come from Holinshed, who tells how Charles, after "shadowing himself behind, setting other gay lords before him," was detected by Jeanne, and had her to the end of the gallery in secret and private talk, "that of his privy chamber was thought very long." He also notes that her sword was chosen "from among old iron"; but it is Halle who suggests that she "probably" had "a foul face." The combat is fictitious, as are the base passages of the colloquy between the Dauphin and the Pucelle.

The account of the siege of Orleans is broken off to make room for a scene (iii), lively and well calculated to entertain a citizen audience in chronicle history fashion, dealing with the fray between Gloucester and Winchester, as described by Halle, Holinshed, and Fabyan.

Scenes iv-vi resume the narration of the siege, the story of the tower, the gunner's boy, and the deaths of Gargrave and Salisbury (which lacks true tragic power), being an almost literal transcript from Halle or Holinshed. These authorities, however, are not responsible for Talbot's ad-

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dressing the dying Salisbury as "Plantagenet"; but his actual name, Montacute, does not occur in the passages, and Bedford is there made to call him "cousin." "Plantagenet," as a name to conjure with,¹ recurs so often in the "Henry VI" plays, as to make it worth noticing that this is not in imitation of the chroniclers — who hardly ever introduce the name — but of the "Mirror for Magistrates." The presence on the occasion of Talbot is a deliberate alteration of the statements of the chroniclers, who mention Suffolk as in command at Orleans; but the exchange of Talbot for Pothon de Xaintrailles is merely antedated. Talbot has to take his place as the hero proper of the play, just as he is in point of fact the hero of the chronicles; "his only name," says Halle, "was and is dreadful to the French nation;" and with it nurses would terrify children.² His combat with the Pucelle is of course fictitious, and is presented with the utmost crudeness. The revolting conception of the final scene of this act, in which the Dauphin bespatters the victorious Maid with a shower of classical allusions may likewise be placed to the credit, or discredit, of its writer.

Act II. — The recovery of Orleans from the French, described in sc. i of Act II, is evidently based on Halle's account of the recovery of Le Mans (copied by Grafton and Holinshed), Bedford and Burgundy being substituted for Scales and Gough. "There the English made a sally, crying 'St. George, Talbot!' and the Frenchmen which were scarce up . . . rose out of their beds in their shirts and leapt over the walls. Others ran naked out of the

¹ York's claim to the crown was on October 16, 1460, formally laid before the Lords in the name of "Richard Plantagenet." Ramsay, *u. s.*, vol. II, p. 232.

² He is said to be celebrated as "*le roi Talbot*" in ballads still sung on the banks of the Garonne. *Ib.*, p. 156, from Ribardieu's "Guienne." — Attention may be directed to the old French play, "*Le Siège d'Orléans*," Creizenach; vol. I, p. 373.

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gates . . ." Halle and the "Mirror" elsewhere relate that the mere cry of "Salisbury!" put the French to flight (cf. l. 79). It will be noticed that in this scene the degradation of the Pucelle "artistically" continues.

For the subjects of scenes iii and iv, as has been already stated, no authority is known to exist. No praise could be too high for the conception and execution of the immortal Temple Garden scene, or for the dramatic skill with which its supposed historical importance is suggested. Yet, as is sometimes the case with the most striking "historical" anecdotes, that of the origin of the designation "the Wars of the Roses" appears to be wholly imaginary, inasmuch as no rose was known as a party badge during the Civil War period besides the White Rose of York.¹ "Young" Somerset was actually a seasoned warrior. Warwick seems throughout the play to be a confusion of the Beauchamp and Neville successive holders of the title. The mention of the attainder and its reversal cannot be derived from Halle, Holinshed, or Fabyan; but the suggestion that York's father (evidently supposed by the playwright to have been a Duke of York) was "no traitor" probably comes from the story in the "Mirror," that Cambridge and his confederates pretended to have been bribed by France to shield March, staining themselves with shame in order to save their friend from blame.

The picture presented in sc. v of Mortimer brought from a dungeon, as well as the remembrance of his early greatness in arms, are inventions, doubtless traceable to the erroneous statement of Halle and Holinshed that he had "long time been restrained of his liberty and finally waxed lame . . . whose inheritance descended to the Lord Rich-

¹ It is stated to have been borne by Richard Duke of York, in right of Clifford Castle. But Edward IV, in his expansive way, constituted it his proper device in conjunction with the radiant sun. See Ramsay, *u. s.*, vol. II, p. 269, note.

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ard Plantagenet." Mortimer actually died in Ireland, in 1425. It is to be regretted that the bold conception of this scene, which begins powerfully, should not have been effectively carried through its course, instead of dwindling down to the close.

Act III. — The lively first scene of this act, though perhaps hardly adequate as a dramatic representation of so momentous a contention, represents the "Parliament of Bats," held at Leicester in 1426 (see above). The chroniclers state Gloucester's bill of complaints against Beaufort to have consisted of six articles. One charged him with the intention of stealing the King from Eltham (cf. Act I, sc. i); another brought forward the suspicions of King Henry V (cf. Act I, sc. iii, l. 24); and a third dwelt on the ambush laid by him for Gloucester on London Bridge. The Mayor's petition gives two details from Fabyan, who is also our warrant for the favour with which the citizens regarded the Duke and their hatred of the Cardinal; noting that the citizens were forced by the fray to shut their shops; and also that, at Leicester, the retainers, debarred from the use of weapons, trussed stones and plummets of lead in their bosoms. The reconciliation between the rivals, and the investiture of Richard as Duke of York, are in both Halle and Holinshed. The old Duke of Exeter (Thomas Beaufort) died shortly after the holding of the Parliament; and the saying cited by him at the end of the scene is attributed by Halle and Holinshed to King Henry V himself.

In scene ii we find reminiscences of several incidents of the war located at Rouen,¹ famous for its sieges, and unsuccessfully assailed by the French in both 1431 and 1432. Holinshed, for instance, tells how six disguised

¹ Here pronounced in the English fashion, but a dissyllable earlier in the play.

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English soldiers, carrying sacks and baskets, captured the castle of Cornell. He, also, is the authority for Cœur de Lion's heart being buried in Rouen (where the monument containing it is still shown in the Cathedral).

The reconciliation of the Duke of Burgundy with Charles VII, represented in scene iii, was accomplished by the Treaty of Arras, a few days before the death (September 15, 1432) and burial of Bedford at Rouen. But the details in the play, especially of course the frank "new diplomacy" of the Pucelle, are fictitious.¹ The Duke of Orleans had really, as Halle states, been detained in England in order to please Burgundy, and was not released till 1440.

Act IV.—The coronation of Henry VI at Paris, by Cardinal Beaufort, took place in 1431, when he was eight years old. The representation of this event in scene i, which may be taken together with the last scene (iv) of the preceding Act, is full of inaccuracies. It has been already mentioned that Talbot was created Earl of Shrewsbury eleven years later, in England; and the appeal to Henry V's high opinion of him in l. 18 is of course a blunder. Bedford, but not Gloucester or Somerset, was present; and Bedford, say Halle and Holinshed, took away Fastolfe's² garter, but afterwards restored it; which, as Monstrelet relates, caused *grand débat* between Talbot and "Fascot." Burgundy's letter, with its blunt superscription, is likewise in accordance with authority; but its date was 1435. Both Halle and Holinshed describe Somerset's jealousy of York, made Regent of France in 1435, and attribute largely to this cause and

¹ Her *aside* "Done like a Frenchman: turn, and turn again," is, considering the situation, about as impudent an appeal to the groundlings as could be found in a serious drama.

² Always spelt "Falstaffe" in the Folio of 1623.

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to the hindrance offered by Somerset to the reinforcement of York the loss of that kingdom. The fictitious squabble between two retainers introduced into this scene is dramatically well designed as showing the actual permanence of the quarrel between their lords. Equally unhistorical, as already explained, is the assumption of a red rose as a badge by King Henry in the course of his fine flow of rhetoric towards the end of this scene.

The scenes (ii, v, and vi) concerned with the death of Talbot are derived from Halle's very full account of the battle of Châtillon (1453), including the park of artillery on the intrenched ground to which Talbot was enticed. Even the conversation between Talbot and his son, Lord Lisle, is distinctly outlined in Halle; though the *stichomythia* of their dialogue, as well as the references to the "sire of Crete" and his Icarus, points to academical elaboration, while the rimes in both scene v and scene vi increase the difficulty of conjecturing the author of this poor but apparently effective stuff.

As to the Sir William Lucy who makes his appearance in scenes iii, iv, and vii, there was a William Lucy at Charlecote about this time, who was killed in the battle of Northampton; but his heraldry is not over-accurate. No Talbot ever held the titles of Cromwell or Falconbridge — Lord Cromwell was in the King's presence when he received the Duke of Burgundy's letter and drew Henry's attention to the insult. Of the French present in scene vii, only Charles was at Châtillon.

Act V. — In reference to scene i, it should be noted that Halle and Holinshed state that the "Earl of Armagnac" in 1442 offered one of his daughters to King Henry VI with "silver hills and mountains of gold," and that ambassadors had concluded the marriage, when the French

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took the Earl and his two daughters captive. Fabyan, however, attributes the breaking-off of the match to Suffolk. Beaufort had been nominated Cardinal in 1417; but, as already mentioned, Henry V refused his assent, because he would not have a subject of his to be his prince's peer; and leave was not granted till 1427. The "Mirror" spitefully adds that he bought his Hat with "not God's angels, but angels of old gold."

Paris was not actually recovered by the French till 1436; but it is well that even in so shamelessly perverted a record of the Pucelle's deeds, her heroic and singularly ill-fated attempt to restore its capital to France should not have been passed by without notice (scene ii).

Scenes iii and iv are fictitious; but Salisbury had begun the siege of Angers before that of Orleans. As to so much of these scenes as refers to the Pucelle, Halle, Holinshed, and Fabyan all contain vile abuse of her; the shameful l. 62 in scene iv is from Fabyan.

Though the meeting (in scene iii) of Suffolk and Margaret at Angers¹ is a fictitious incident, scene v adopts Halle's full and gratuitously false account of Suffolk's responsibility for the marriage of Henry and Margaret, which he had devised while at the peace conference at Tours. He extolled before the King and Council the personage of the Princess, "as who would say she was of such excellent beauty and of so high a parentage that almost no King or Emperor was worthy to be her make." Gloucester, says Halle, resisted the marriage, because of the pre-contract with Armagnac and the bride's poverty. The truth—that Orleans pro-

¹ Suffolk's "She's beautiful, and therefore to be woo'd;
She is a woman, therefore to be won"—
inevitably suggests a comparison with a passage in "Richard III.," but of this below.

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posed the match, supported by the Beauforts—is not given by any of the chroniclers; but none of them—not even Halle, Yorkist and anti-Beaufort though he was in his sympathies—breathes a word of scandal or even of a personal nature as to the relations between Suffolk and Margaret. This adventitious calumny is due to the playwright. Suffolk was old enough to be Margaret's father, and his wife attended her to England.

From the point of view of style and diction, the most striking characteristic of the "First Part of Henry VI" is beyond a doubt the large element of bombast contained in it—bombast at times quite unintentionally comic; at other times, whether intentionally or not, devoid of meaning. Ancient Pistol could hardly have outdone "old Talbot," when (Act IV, sc. iv) he comforts Salisbury, one of whose eyes a shot has just "struck off," by the following simile:

"One eye thou hast to look to heaven for grace :
The sun with one eye vieweth all the world."

And from what anthology of lovers' nonsense could Suffolk have culled a figure so unintelligible as the following (Act V, sc. iii):

"As plays the sun upon the glassy streams,
Twinkling another counterfeited beam,
So seems this gorgeous beauty to mine eyes."

The alliteration in which the play abounds, and which may generally be described as explosive rather than melodious, seems to be part of its bombast. It is mostly reserved for the use of great nobles—especially for Talbot, for Mortimer, and (though in a less ample measure) for Warwick; and it seems on the whole to

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be more frequently employed in the first three acts than in the last two. Rime is not largely introduced, except in scenes iii and v-vii of Act IV, where both the Talbots discourse almost entirely in rime, and where it is noticeable that alliteration almost entirely disappears. In other scenes rime concludes a few speeches; elsewhere it is employed occasionally, but without any obvious purpose. More peculiar is what may be described as a constant repetition of words—sometimes of sounds—to which some ears may possibly be more sensitive than others, but which to mine (certain Greek analogies notwithstanding) conveys a certain impression of awkward energy—like the speech of a pedantic and unpolished schoolmaster. To be sure, some emphasis is gained, even though it is not always the emphasis of antithesis; and the attention of the audience is thus more certainly arrested; but this is at the expense of euphony, and of a pleasing flow of style.¹

In the diction of this play there is observable a tendency to tautology of expression, which seems to be

¹ A long list of instances of the use of this trick in the "First Part of Henry VI" lies before me; but the reader will, if he chooses, find no difficulty in compiling one for himself. By way of example, take the following from Act I, sc. iii:

Villains, answer you so the lord protector?—
The Lord protect him! so we answer him:
We do no otherwise than we are willed.—
Who will'd you, or whose will stands but mine?

What noise is this? what traitors have we here?
Lieutenant, is it you whose voice I hear?

Do what thou darest; I heard thee to thy face.—
What! am I dared and bearded to my face?

Cardinal, I'll be no breaker of the law:
But we shall meet, and break our minds at large.—
Gloucester, we will meet; to thy cost, be sure."

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distinctive of it as compared with Parts II and III. Such combinations as "replete with mirth and joy," "black and swart" (Act I, sc. ii), recur in several later scenes.¹ They may be regarded as exemplifications of a certain carelessness of style, or perhaps of a kind of indolence which resorts to the means most readily at hand for making up a line.² Careless phraseology is also here and there to be noticed.³ On the other hand, we find, not only a very large number of classical similes and allusions, which Part I affects like the two other Parts,⁴ but also some out-of-the-way words, coined or imported, and not recurring in either of these.⁵ The omission of the definite article in such phrases as "to sun's parching heat" (Act I, sc. ii, l. 77), "if Dauphin and the rest" (Act III, sc. iii, l. 8), "the sound of drum" (*ib.* 29), and the insertion of it, not, I think, to be met with elsewhere in Shakespeare, before proper names such as "the Talbot" (Act II, sc. ii, iii, and Act III, sc. iii), and "the Burgundy" (Act III, sc. iii), may be due to carelessness, or, more probably, to a desire for peculiarity.

¹ "Blame and lay the fault" (Act I, sc. i); "the middle centre" (Act II, sc. ii); "Enter, go in" (Act III, sc. ii); "Warlike and martial Talbot" (*ib.*).

² Another expedient not unfrequently employed for this purpose is the use of the termination *-eth* (3d pers. sing. present), where not specially called for, as in Act I, sc. ii, l. 15: "Remaineth none but mad-brain'd Salisbury"; and again in ll. 26 and 34 of the same scene.

³ "Await for" (Act I, sc. i, l. 48); "whether that such cowards" (Act IV, sc. i, l. 28). Compare also the careless use at the close of lines of sounds which are imperfect rimes to sounds ending the lines preceding, such as "talk — smock" (Act I, sc. ii, ll. 118–119), and several other instances.

⁴ The comparison of promises quickly redeemed to Adonis' gardens, "That one day bloomed and fruitful were the next" (Act I, sc. vi, ll. 6–7) is from Plato's *Phædrus*. The one Scriptural allusion (Act I, sc. ii, l. 105), "thou fightest with the sword of Deborah," is not strictly accurate.

⁵ "Extirped"; "expulsed"; "venge this wrong"; "reguerdon" (all in Act III, sc. iii, the last also in Act III, sc. i); "neglection" (Act IV, sc. iii). "Corrosive," "contumeliously," reappear in later Parts.

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Something will be said later as to the contrast between the general effect of Part I and that created by Part II and, though not in quite the same degree, by Part III of "Henry VI"—a contrast which impressed itself very forcibly upon those who witnessed the performance of these dramas, in succession to one another, on the occasion of their recent revival at Stratford-on-Avon. The First Part, however, must always stand apart from the Second and Third, not only because of a difference in some of their respective characteristics, but because of the fact that of the First Part no earlier dramatic source exists such as those which we possess in the case of the Second and Third Parts; nor is there any evidence to show that any such play at any time existed, or that it was to some play of the kind that Henslowe and Nashe refer in the two passages already cited. Thus the First Part must be judged, for what it is worth, as an original work; and the question hereupon arises as to who was its author.

A consensus of more or less recent criticism rejects the supposition that Shakespeare is to be held responsible for the whole of the play—though in such a supposition the early school of Shakespeare critics, notably Schlegel and Tieck, followed by Ulrici, saw nothing strange. Among English editors and commentators, Charles Knight, to whom the popular study of Shakespeare in his own land is deeply indebted, and among whose many excellent qualities courage was not the least conspicuous, practically stands alone in upholding the Shakespearean authorship of the entire "Henry VI" trilogy (which he regarded as forming, together with "Richard III," a complete unity), and therefore implicitly also of the First Part. On the other side of the controversy nearly every shade of opinion has its representa-

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tive. So far back as 1777 Maurice Morgaun, in his admirable, if paradoxical, essay "On the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff," made reference to "that drum and trumpet thing called the 'First Part of Henry VI,' written doubtless, or rather exhibited, long before Shakespeare was born, though afterwards repaired, I think, and furbished up by him, with here and there a little sentiment and diction." Malone, who considered that Shakespeare had no concern in Part I, unless it were in the matter of one or two scenes, held that this play, as it now lies before us, is "the entire or nearly the entire production of some ancient dramatist"¹ earlier than Shakespeare. The best-founded sections of his argument insisted on the un-Shakespearean character of the diction, versification, and allusions — the last including those mythological and historical allusions which, instead of arising naturally out of the text, "seem to be inserted merely to show the author's learning." Malone saw no difficulty in the hypothesis that Shakespeare, for the advantage of his own theatre, made a few additions to the First Part, in order to bring it into line with the Second and Third, after they had been performed there; and this explanation would, he thought, sufficiently account for Hemynge and Condell's admission of the First Part, side by side with the Second and Third, into their Folio. Malone's view, as has been seen, met with very general acceptance; and N. Drake even went a step beyond it, by proposing to exclude the First Part absolutely from the canon of Shakespeare's works, as exhibiting no trace whatever of his hand. In Germany, too, so conservative a critic as Gervinus, with whom textual criticism was a matter of secondary importance, held that Shakespeare's share in the play was confined to those pas-

¹ Dissertation on the "Three Parts of K. Henry VI," etc., in vol. XVIII of the "Variorum Shakespeare" (1821).

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sages which connect it with the Second and Third Parts; and such was also the opinion of Hallam, who, though inferior to Gervinus as a critic, was like him distinguished both by sobriety of judgment and by a certain breadth of view. On the other hand it is noticeable that Coleridge, who was great enough as a poet to make his impressions of importance in such a matter, held that many lines in the play were by Shakespeare. This clearly meant something more than the view of Grant White, according to which Shakespeare had "little or nothing to do with the writing of the 'First Part of Henry VI'; but possibly he may have touched its substance and modified its form here and there, sufficiently to bring it into keeping with Parts II and III, and with 'Richard III,' which was produced very soon afterwards."

Since the question is wholly one of internal evidence, it is the reverse of wonderful that there should be no agreement either as to which are the Shakespearean passages in this unlucky play — I term it unlucky, as one would describe a man as unfortunate who "cannot call his soul his own" — or as to the identity of the author or authors of so much in it as is not Shakespearean. Of these two problems the former does not seem to me quite so much in the air as the latter. Each reader must be left to put his finger with more or less of confidence upon particular passages; but few will contend against the feeling of certainty that the spirit of such a speech as that of Talbot's beginning

"He fables not; I hear the enemy" —

(Act IV, scene ii) or so inimitable a touch of humour as the Mayor's reflection —

"Good God, these nobles should such stomachs bear!
I myself fight not once in forty year" —

(Act I, scene iii) came from any other hand.

Then yield, my lords; and here conclude with me
That Margaret shall be queen, and none but she.

KING. Whether it be through force of your report,

My noble Lord of Suffolk, or for that 80
My tender youth was never yet attaint
With any passion of inflaming love,
I cannot tell; but this I am assured,
I feel such sharp dissension in my breast,
Such fierce alarums both of hope and fear,
As I am sick with working of my thoughts.
Take, therefore, shipping; post, my lord, to France;
Agree to any covenants, and procure
That Lady Margaret do vouchsafe to come 90
To cross the seas to England, and be crown'd
King Henry's faithful and anointed queen:
For your expenses and sufficient charge,
Among the people gather up a tenth.
Be gone, I say; for, till you do return,
I rest perplexed with a thousand cares.
And you, good uncle, banish all offence:
If you do censure me by what you were,
Not what you are, I know it will excuse
This sudden execution of my will.
And so, conduct me where, from company, 100
I may revolve and ruminare my grief. [Exit.

GLOU. Ay, grief, I fear me, both at first and last.

[Exeunt Gloucester and Exeter.]

81 *attaint*] touched. Cf. V, iii, 183, *supra*: "*taint* with love."

97 *censure*] judge.

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SUF. Thus Suffolk hath prevail'd; and thus he goes,
As did the youthful Paris once to Greece,
With hope to find the like event in love,
But prosper better than the Trojan did.
Margaret shall now be queen, and rule the king;
But I will rule both her, the king and realm. [Exit.

104-106 *the youthful Paris*] Paris's visit to Greece resulted in his winning Helen's love.

**THE FIRST PART OF
KING HENRY VI**

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ¹

KING HENRY the Sixth.
DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, uncle to the King, and Protector.
DUKE OF BEDFORD, uncle to the King, and Regent of France.
THOMAS BEAUFORT, Duke of Exeter, great-uncle to the King.
HENRY BEAUFORT, great-uncle to the King, Bishop of Winchester, and afterwards Cardinal.
JOHN BEAUFORT, Earl, afterwards Duke, of Somerset.
RICHARD PLANTAGENET, son of Richard late Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Duke of York.
EARL OF WARWICK.
EARL OF SALISBURY.
EARL OF SUFFOLK.
LORD TALBOT, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury.
JOHN TALBOT, his son.
EDMUND MORTIMER, Earl of March.
SIR JOHN FASTOLFE.
SIR WILLIAM LUCY.
SIR WILLIAM GLANSDALE.
SIR THOMAS GARGRAVE.
Mayor of London.
WOODVILLE, Lieutenant of the Tower.
VERNON, of the White-Rose or York faction.
BASSET, of the Red-Rose or Lancaster faction.
A Lawyer. Mortimer's Keepers.
CHARLES, Dauphin, and afterwards King, of France.
REIGNIER, Duke of Anjou, and titular King of Naples.
DUKE OF BURGUNDY.
DUKE OF ALENÇON.
BASTARD OF ORLEANS.
Governor of Paris.
Master-Gunner of Orleans, and his Son.
General of the French forces in Bourdeaux.
A French Sergeant. A Porter.
An old Shepherd, father to Joan la Pucelle.
MARGARET, daughter to Reignier, afterwards married to King Henry.
COUNTESS OF AUVERGNE.
JOAN LA PUCELLE, commonly called Joan of Arc.
Lords, Warders of the Tower, Heralds, Officers, Soldiers, Messengers, and Attendants.

Fiends appearing to La Pucelle.

SCENE: *Partly in England, and partly in France.*

¹ This play was first printed in the First Folio of 1623. It is there divided into Acts, but Act IV is alone divided into separate Scenes. No list of "dramatis personæ" is given, nor is there any indication of the "Scene." Both were first supplied by Rowe.



ACT FIRST—SCENE I

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Dead March. Enter the Funeral of KING HENRY the Fifth, attended on by the DUKE OF BEDFORD, Regent of France ; the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, Protector ; the DUKE OF EXETER, the EARL OF WARWICK, the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, Herald, &c.

BEDFORD



UNG BE THE HEAVENS
with black, yield day to night!
Comets, importing change of
times and states,
Brandish your crystal tresses in
the sky,
And with them scourge the bad
revolting stars
That have consented unto
Henry's death!
King Henry the Fifth, too fa-
mous to live long!
England ne'er lost a king of so
much worth.

GLOU. England ne'er had a king until his time.
Virtue he had, deserving to command:

His brandish'd sword did blind men with his beams: 10
 His arms spread wider than a dragon's wings;
 His sparkling eyes, replete with wrathful fire,
 More dazzled and drove back his enemies
 Than mid-day sun fierce bent against their faces.
 What should I say? his deeds exceed all speech:
 He ne'er lift up his hand but conquered.

EXE. We mourn in black: why mourn we not in
 blood?

Henry is dead and never shall revive:
 Upon a wooden coffin we attend,
 And death's dishonourable victory 20
 We with our stately presence glorify,
 Like captives bound to a triumphant car.
 What! shall we curse the planets of mishap
 That plotted thus our glory's overthrow?
 Or shall we think the subtle-witted French
 Conjurers and sorcerers, that afraid of him
 By magic verses have contrived his end?

WIN. He was a king bless'd of the King of kings.
 Unto the French the dreadful judgement-day

1 *Hung . . . black*] A reference to the practice of draping the back of the stage with black hangings when a tragedy was performed.

3 *crystal tresses*] the tail of the comet. Cf. "*crystal comets*" in *Aurora*: sonnets by Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, 1604.

11 *His arms . . . dragon's wings*] Cf. *Troil. and Cress.*, V, viii, 17: "*The dragon wing of night o'erspreads the earth.*"

27 *By magic verses . . . end ?*] It was believed that incantations in verse composed and recited by witches caused death. Cf. Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584: "The Irishmen . . . affirme that they can rime either man or beast to death."

So dreadful will not be as was his sight. 30
 The battles of the Lord of hosts he fought:
 The church's prayers made him so prosperous.

GLOU. The church! where is it? Had not churchmen
 pray'd,
 His thread of life had not so soon decay'd:
 None do you like but an effeminate prince,
 Whom, like a school-boy, you may over-awe.

WIN. Gloucester, whate'er we like, thou art Protector,
 And lookest to command the prince and realm.
 Thy wife is proud; she holdeth thee in awe,
 More than God or religious churchmen may. 40

GLOU. Name not religion, for thou lovest the flesh,
 And ne'er throughout the year to church thou go'st
 Except it be to pray against thy foes.

BED. Cease, cease these jars and rest your minds in
 peace:

Let's to the altar: heralds, wait on us:
 Instead of gold, we'll offer up our arms;
 Since arms avail not now that Henry's dead.
 Posterity, await for wretched years,
 When at their mothers' moist eyes babes shall suck,
 Our isle be made a nourish of salt tears, 50
 And none but women left to wail the dead.
 Henry the Fifth, thy ghost I invoke:
 Prosper this realm, keep it from civil broils,

48 *await for*] be ready for, expect.

50 *nourish*] Thus the original text. Pope substituted *marish*, an obsolete form of "marsh." But "nourish" is an early variant of "nurse," and change is needless.

Combat with adverse planets in the heavens!
 A far more glorious star thy soul will make
 Than Julius Cæsar or bright —

Enter a Messenger

MESS. My honourable lords, health to you all!
 Sad tidings bring I to you out of France,
 Of loss, of slaughter and discomfiture:
 Guienne, Champagne, Rheims, Orleans, 60
 Paris, Guysors, Poitiers, are all quite lost.

BED. What say'st thou, man, before dead Henry's
 corse?

Speak softly; or the loss of those great towns
 Will make him burst his lead and rise from death.

GLOU. Is Paris lost? is Rouen yielded up?
 If Henry were recall'd to life again,
 These news would cause him once more yield the ghost.

EXE. How were they lost? what treachery was used?

MESS. No treachery; but want of men and money. 70
 Amongst the soldiers this is muttered,
 That here you maintain several factions,

56 *or bright* —] The speech is interrupted by the entrance of the messenger. Bedford may have intended to add "Charlemagne," as several editors have suggested. There is no need to fill the hiatus.

60 *Guienne*, . . . *Orleans*] The metre halts here, even if *Rheims*, spelt *Rheimes* in the Folios, be pronounced dissyllabically. Capell inserted *Rouen* before *Orleans*, in anticipation of the reference to the place in line 65, *infra*.

64 *burst his lead*] at line 19, *supra*, the coffin is specifically described as *wooden*. The inner casing may have been of lead.

And whilst a field should be dispatch'd and fought,
 You are disputing of your generals:
 One would have lingering wars with little cost;
 Another would fly swift, but wanteth wings;
 A third thinks, without expense at all,
 By guileful fair words peace may be obtain'd.
 Awake, awake, English nobility!
 Let not sloth dim your honours new-begot:
 Cropp'd are the flower-de-luces in your arms;
 Of England's coat one half is cut away.

80

EXE. Were our tears wanting to this funeral,
 These tidings would call forth their flowing tides.

BED. Me they concern; Regent I am of France.
 Give me my steeled coat. I'll fight for France.
 Away with these disgraceful wailing robes!
 Wounds will I lend the French instead of eyes,
 To weep their intermissive miseries.

Enter to them another Messenger

MESS. Lords, view these letters full of bad mischance.
 France is revolted from the English quite,
 Except some petty towns of no import:
 The Dauphin Charles is crowned king in Rheims;

90

72 *a field . . . fought*] a battle should be fought out to a finish.

80 *flower-de-luces*] the white lilies of France, which were quartered on the coat-of-arms of England.

83 *their flowing tides*] the flowing tides of England's tears. Theobald substituted *their* for the Folio reading *her*.

88 *intermissive miseries*] intermittent, almost continuous miseries (since Henry V's triumphant victories).

The Bastard of Orleans with him is join'd;
Reignier, Duke of Anjou, doth take his part;
The Duke of Alençon flieth to his side.

EXE. The Dauphin crowned king! all fly to him!
O, whither shall we fly from this reproach?

GLOU. We will not fly, but to our enemies' throats.
Bedford, if thou be slack, I'll fight it out.

BED. Gloucester, why doubt'st thou of my forwardness?
An army have I muster'd in my thoughts, 101
Wherewith already France is overrun.

Enter another Messenger

MESS. My gracious lords, to add to your laments,
Wherewith you now bedew King Henry's hearse,
I must inform you of a dismal fight
Betwixt the stout Lord Talbot and the French.

WIN. What! wherein Talbot overcame? is't so?

MESS. O, no; wherein Lord Talbot was o'erthrown:
The circumstance I'll tell you more at large. 110
The tenth of August last this dreadful lord,
Retiring from the siege of Orleans,
Having full scarce six thousand in his troop,
By three and twenty thousand of the French
Was round encompassed and set upon.
No leisure had he to enrank his men;

110-111 *The tenth of August . . . Orleans*] The chronology is here at fault. The battle of Patay, here described, where Talbot was outmanœuvred and taken prisoner, was fought on *June 18, 1429*, six weeks *after* the English had raised the siege of Orleans, which, in this scene, is noticed as being still in progress.

115 *enrank*] set in battle array.

He wanted pikes to set before his archers;
 Instead whereof sharp stakes pluck'd out of hedges
 They pitched in the ground confusedly,
 To keep the horsemen off from breaking in.
 More than three hours the fight continued; 120
 Where valiant Talbot above human thought
 Enacted wonders with his sword and lance:
 Hundreds he sent to hell, and none durst stand
 him;
 Here, there, and every where, enraged he flew:
 The French exclaim'd, the devil was in arms;
 All the whole army stood agazed on him:
 His soldiers spying his undaunted spirit
 A Talbot! a Talbot! cried out amain,
 And rush'd into the bowels of the battle.
 Here had the conquest fully been seal'd up, 130
 If Sir John Fastolfe had not play'd the coward:
 He, being in the vaward, placed behind
 With purpose to relieve and follow them,
 Cowardly fled, not having struck one stroke.

124 *flew*] Rowe's emendation of the Folio reading *slew*.

126 *agazed on*] aghast at.

131 *Sir John Fastolfe*] The Folios read *Falstaffe*, which Theobald changed to *Fastolfe*. Reference is here made to the distinguished soldier, well known to contemporary historians, who successfully defended himself against the charge of cowardice which is mentioned in the text. Shakespeare afterwards bestowed a modified form of the historic warrior's name on his colossal humourist of *Hen. IV* and *M. Wives*. Apart from similarity of name the historic Fastolfe has little in common with Shakespeare's Falstaff.

132 *in the vaward*] in the van, in the front line of his own troop.

Hence grew the general wreck and massacre;
Enclosed were they with their enemies:
A base Walloon, to win the Dauphin's grace,
Thrust Talbot with a spear into the back,
Whom all France with their chief assembled strength
Durst not presume to look once in the face. 140

BED. Is Talbot slain? then I will slay myself,
For living idly here in pomp and ease,
Whilst such a worthy leader, wanting aid,
Unto his dastard foemen is betray'd.

MESS. O no, he lives; but is took prisoner,
And Lord Scales with him, and Lord Hungerford:
Most of the rest slaughter'd or took likewise.

BED. His ransom there is none but I shall pay:
I'll hale the Dauphin headlong from his throne:
His crown shall be the ransom of my friend; 150
Four of their lords I'll change for one of ours.
Farewell, my masters; to my task will I;
Bonfires in France forthwith I am to make,
To keep our great Saint George's feast withal:
Ten thousand soldiers with me I will take,
Whose bloody deeds shall make all Europe quake.

MESS. So you had need; for Orleans is besieged;
The English army is grown weak and faint:
The Earl of Salisbury craveth supply, 160
And hardly keeps his men from mutiny,
Since they, so few, watch such a multitude.

EXE. Remember, lords, your oaths to Henry sworn,
Either to quell the Dauphin utterly,
Or bring him in obedience to your yoke.

SCENE II

KING HENRY VI

BED. I do remember it; and here take my leave,
To go about my preparation. *[Exit.]*

GLOU. I'll to the Tower with all the haste I can,
To view the artillery and munition;
And then I will proclaim young Henry king. *[Exit.]*

EXE. To Eltham will I, where the young king is, ¹⁷⁰
Being ordain'd his special governor,
And for his safety there I'll best devise. *[Exit.]*

WIN. Each hath his place and function to attend:
I am left out; for me nothing remains.
But long I will not be Jack out of office:
The king from Eltham I intend to steal
And sit at chiefest stern of public weal. *[Exeunt.]*

SCENE II—FRANCE

BEFORE ORLEANS

*Sound a Flourish. Enter CHARLES, ALENÇON, and REIGNIER,
marching with Drum and Soldiers*

CHAR. Mars his true moving, even as in the heavens
So in the earth, to this day is not known:
Late did he shine upon the English side;

176 *steal*] The Folios awkwardly read *send*, which misrepresents the speaker's obvious meaning.

177 *sit . . . weal*] exercise supreme control of public affairs, like a master-pilot.

1 *Mars his true moving*] Mars' true motion. "His" is a common form of the genitival inflexion. Cf. III, ii, 123, *infra*: "*Charles his gleeks*," and IV, vi, 3, *infra*: "*France his sword*." Astronomers

Now we are victors; upon us he smiles.
 What towns of any moment but we have?
 At pleasure here we lie near Orleans;
 Otherwhiles the famish'd English, like pale ghosts,
 Faintly besiege us one hour in a month.

ALÉN. They want their porridge and their fat bull-
 beeves:

Either they must be dieted like mules, 10
 And have their provender tied to their mouths,
 Or piteous they will look, like drowned mice.

REIG. Let's raise the siege: why live we idly here?
 Talbot is taken, whom we wont to fear:
 Remaineth none but mad-brain'd Salisbury;
 And he may well in fretting spend his gall,
 Nor men nor money hath he to make war.

CHAR. Sound, sound alarum! we will rush on them.
 Now for the honour of the forlorn French!
 Him I forgive my death that killeth me 20
 When he sees me go back one foot or fly. [Exeunt.]

*Here Alarum; they are beaten back by the English with great
 loss. Re-enter CHARLES, ALÉNÇON, and REIGNIER*

CHAR. Who ever saw the like? what men have I!
 Dogs! cowards! dastards! I would ne'er have fled,
 But that they left me 'midst my enemies.

REIG. Salisbury is a desperate homicide;

were notoriously puzzled by the motions of the planet Mars until
 Kepler published the masterly result of his observations in 1609.
 19 *forlorn*] desperate; here used somewhat ironically. The speaker
 imagines that the tide of French disaster has turned.

He fighteth as one weary of his life.
 The other lords, like lions wanting food,
 Do rush upon us as their hungry prey.

ALEN. Froissart, a countryman of ours, records,
 England all Olivers and Rowlands bred 30
 During the time Edward the Third did reign.
 More truly now may this be verified;
 For none but Samsons and Goliases
 It sendeth forth to skirmish. One to ten!
 Lean raw-boned rascals! who would e'er suppose
 They had such courage and audacity?

CHAR. Let's leave this town; for they are hare-brain'd
 slaves,
 And hunger will enforce them to be more eager:
 Of old I know them; rather with their teeth
 The walls they'll tear down than forsake the siege. 40

REIG. I think, by some odd gimmors or device
 Their arms are set like clocks, still to strike on;
 Else ne'er could they hold out so as they do.
 By my consent, we'll even let them alone.

ALEN. Be it so.

29 *Froissart*] Jean Froissart (1333-1419), whose French chronicle of the period 1326-1400 was published in an English translation by Lord Berners (1523-1525).

30 *Olivers and Rowlands*] two of the most famous of Charlemagne's twelve valiant peers.

35 *rascals*] technically, lean deer not fit for hunting. Cf. IV, ii, 48-49, *infra*: "English deer, . . . Not rascal-like."

37 *hare-brain'd slaves*] reckless fellows.

41-42 *odd gimmors . . . clocks*] quaint contrivances or mechanism; here applied to the striking apparatus of clocks.

Enter the BASTARD OF ORLEANS

BAST. Where's the Prince Dauphin? I have news
for him.

CHAR. Bastard of Orleans, thrice welcome to us.

BAST. Methinks your looks are sad, your cheer ap-
pall'd:

Hath the late overthrow wrought this offence?

Be not dismay'd, for succour is at hand:

50

A holy maid hither with me I bring,

Which by a vision sent to her from heaven

Ordained is to raise this tedious siege,

And drive the English forth the bounds of France.

The spirit of deep prophecy she hath,

Exceeding the nine sibyls of old Rome:

What's past and what's to come she can descry.

Speak, shall I call her in? Believe my words,

For they are certain and unfallible.

CHAR. Go, call her in. [*Exit Bastard.*] But first, to
try her skill,

60

Reignier, stand thou as Dauphin in my place:

Question her proudly; let thy looks be stern:

By this means shall we sound what skill she hath.

47 *Bastard*] This title was often employed without any sense of reproach.

48 *cheer appall'd*] countenance terror-stricken. Cf. *Mids. N. Dr.*, III, ii,
96: "pale of *cheer*."

49 *wrought this offence*] done this harm (to your countenance).

56 *the nine sibyls*] There seems a confusion here with the *nine* books of
Sibylline oracles offered to King Tarquin by the Sibyl of Cumæ.
The number of the Roman Sibyls in mediæval traditions is variously
given, but never appears as nine.

Re-enter the BASTARD OF ORLEANS, with JOAN LA PUCELLE

REIG. Fair maid, is't thou wilt do these wondrous
feats?

PUC. Reignier, is't thou that thinkest to beguile me?
Where is the Dauphin? Come, come from behind;
I know thee well, though never seen before.
Be not amazed, there's nothing hid from me:
In private will I talk with thee apart.
Stand back, you lords, and give us leave awhile. 70

REIG. She takes upon her bravely at first dash.

PUC. Dauphin, I am by birth a shepherd's daughter,
My wit untrain'd in any kind of art.
Heaven and our Lady gracious hath it pleased
To shine on my contemptible estate:
Lo, whilst I waited on my tender lambs,
And to sun's parching heat display'd my cheeks,
God's mother deigned to appear to me,
And in a vision full of majesty
Will'd me to leave my base vocation, 80
And free my country from calamity:
Her aid she promised and assured success:
In complete glory she reveal'd herself;
And, whereas I was black and swart before,
With those clear rays which she infused on me
That beauty am I bless'd with which you see.
Ask me what question thou canst possible,
And I will answer unpremeditated:

71 *She takes . . . dash*] She makes bold pretensions at the outset.

My courage try by combat, if thou darest,
 And thou shalt find that I exceed my sex. 90
 Resolve on this, thou shalt be fortunate,
 If thou receive me for thy warlike mate.

CHAR. Thou hast astonish'd me with thy high terms:
 Only this proof I'll of thy valour make,
 In single combat thou shalt buckle with me,
 And if thou vanquishest, thy words are true;
 Otherwise I renounce all confidence.

PUC. I am prepared: here is my keen-edged sword,
 Deck'd with five flower-de-luces on each side;
 The which at Touraine, in Saint Katharine's churchyard,
 Out of a great deal of old iron I chose forth. 101

CHAR. Then come, o' God's name; I fear no woman.

PUC. And while I live, I'll ne'er fly from a man.

[*Here they fight, and Joan La Pucelle overcomes.*]

CHAR. Stay, stay thy hands! thou art an Amazon,
 And fightest with the sword of Deborah.

PUC. Christ's mother helps me, else I were too weak.

CHAR. Whoe'er helps thee, 't is thou that must help
 me:

Impatiently I burn with thy desire;
 My heart and hands thou hast at once subdued.

91 *Resolve on this*] Be assured of this.

95 *buckle*] encounter, join in close fight. The word twice reappears in this play. Cf. IV, iv, 5, and V, iii, 28.

99 *five*] Steevens' correction of the Folio reading *fine*. Holinshed describes Joan of Arc's sword as being engraved with "*five flower-de-luces on each side*."

100 *at Touraine*] Touraine is a province of France, not a town. Holinshed describes the place as "*Fierbois in Touraine*."

Excellent Pucelle, if thy name be so, 110
Let me thy servant and not sovereign be:
'T is the French Dauphin sueth to thee thus.

PUC. I must not yield to any rites of love,
For my profession 's sacred from above:
When I have chased all thy foes from hence,
Then will I think upon a recompense.

CHAR. Meantime look gracious on thy prostrate thrall.

REIG. My lord, methinks, is very long in talk.

ALEN. Doubtless he shrives this woman to her smock;
Else ne'er could he so long protract his speech. 120

REIG. Shall we disturb him, since he keeps no mean?

ALEN. He may mean more than we poor men do
know:

These women are shrewd tempters with their tongues.

REIG. My lord, where are you? what devise you on?
Shall we give over Orleans, or no?

PUC. Why, no, I say, distrustful recreants!
Fight till the last gasp; I will be your guard.

CHAR. What she says I'll confirm: we'll fight it
out.

PUC. Assign'd am I to be the English scourge.
This night the siege assuredly I'll raise: 130
Expect Saint Martin's summer, halcyon days,
Since I have entered into these wars.

121 *keeps no mean*] observes no moderation in the length of his interview.

131 *Saint Martin's summer*] An expression applied to the spell of hot weather which is occasionally experienced about St. Martin's day, November 11, after winter has set in. The speaker means "Expect prosperity after misfortune."

Glory is like a circle in the water,
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself
Till by broad spreading it disperse to nought.
With Henry's death the English circle ends;
Dispersed are the glories it included.
Now am I like that proud insulting ship
Which Cæsar and his fortune bare at once.

CHAR. Was Mahomet inspired with a dove? 140
Thou with an eagle art inspired then.
Helen, the mother of great Constantine,
Nor yet Saint Philip's daughters, were like thee.
Bright star of Venus, fall'n down on the earth,
How may I reverently worship thee enough?

ALEN. Leave off delays, and let us raise the siege.

REIG. Woman, do what thou canst to save our
honours;
Drive them from Orleans and be immortalized.

CHAR. Presently we'll try: come, let's away about it:
No prophet will I trust, if she prove false. [*Exeunt.* 150]

139 *Cæsar and his fortune*] Plutarch in his life of Julius Cæsar tells the story how Cæsar, while an unrecognised passenger on a small pinnace which got into difficulties at sea, discovered himself to the captain, saying to him: "Fear not, for thou hast *Cæsar and his fortune* with thee."

140 *Mahomet . . . dove*] According to a common mediæval tradition, Mahomet trained a dove to perch on his shoulder, pretending that the bird was an incarnation of the Holy Ghost.

142 *Helen*] The Roman Empress Helena, who, according to a legend, discovered the cross of Christ on a visit to Jerusalem in 326 A. D.

143 *Saint Philip's daughters*] The four daughters of Philip ("virgins, which did prophesy,") mentioned in *Acts* xxi, 9.

SCENE III—LONDON

BEFORE THE TOWER

*Enter the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, with his Serving-men
in blue coats*

GLOU. I am come to survey the Tower this day:
Since Henry's death, I fear, there is conveyance.
Where be these warders, that they wait not here?
Open the gates; 't is Gloucester that calls.

FIRST WARDER. [*Within*] Who's there that knocks so
imperiously?

FIRST SERV. It is the noble Duke of Gloucester.

SECOND WARDER. [*Within*] Whoe'er he be, you may
not be let in.

FIRST SERV. Villains, answer you so the lord protector?

FIRST WARDER. [*Within*] The Lord protect him! so
we answer him:

We do no otherwise than we are will'd. 10

GLOU. Who willed you? or whose will stands but mine?
There's none protector of the realm but I.
Break up the gates, I'll be your warrantize:
Shall I be flouted thus by dunghill grooms?

*[Gloucester's men rush at the Tower Gates, and
Woodvile the Lieutenant speaks within.]*

2 *conveyance*] trickery, dishonest practice. Cf. *M. Wives*, I, iii, 27-28:

“‘*Convey*’ the wise it call. ‘Steal!’ foh! a fico for the phrase!”

4 *Gloucester*] Here pronounced trisyllabically, as in lines 6 and 62, *infra*.

13 *Break up*] Break open. Cf. *Micah* ii, 13: “they have *broken up*,
and have passed through the gate.”

WOODV. What noise is this? what traitors have we here?

GLOU. Lieutenant, is it you whose voice I hear?
Open the gates; here's Gloucester that would enter.

WOODV. Have patience, noble duke; I may not open;
The Cardinal of Winchester forbids:

From him I have express commandment 20
That thou nor none of thine shall be let in.

GLOU. Faint-hearted Woodvile, prizest him 'fore me?
Arrogant Winchester, that haughty prelate,
Whom Henry, our late sovereign, ne'er could brook?
Thou art no friend to God or to the king:
Open the gates, or I'll shut thee out shortly.

SERVING-MEN. Open the gates unto the lord protector,
Or we'll burst them open, if that you come not quickly.

*Enter to the Protector at the Tower Gates WINCHESTER
and his men in tawny coats*

WIN. How now, ambitious Humphry! what means this?

GLOU. Peel'd priest, dost thou command me to be
shut out? 30

WIN. I do, thou most usurping proditor,
And not protector, of the king or realm.

GLOU. Stand back, thou manifest conspirator,
Thou that contrivedst to murder our dead lord;
Thou that givest whores indulgences to sin:

30 *Peel'd*] Shaven, tonsured.

31 *proditor*] the Latin word for "traitor."

35 *Thou . . . sin*] The brothels were situated in Southwark, on land belonging to the See of Winchester.

I'll canvass thee in thy broad cardinal's hat,
If thou proceed in this thy insolence.

WIN. Nay, stand thou back; I will not budge a foot:
This be Damascus, be thou cursed Cain,
To slay thy brother Abel, if thou wilt. 40

GLOU. I will not slay thee, but I'll drive thee back:
Thy scarlet robes as a child's bearing-cloth
I'll use to carry thee out of this place.

WIN. Do what thou darest; I beard thee to thy face.

GLOU. What! am I dared and bearded to my face?
Draw, men, for all this privileged place;
Blue coats to tawny coats. Priest, beware your beard;
I mean to tug it and to cuff you soundly:
Under my feet I stamp thy cardinal's hat:
In spite of pope or dignities of church, 50
Here by the cheeks I'll drag thee up and down.

WIN. Gloucester, thou wilt answer this before the
pope.

GLOU. Winchester goose, I cry, a rope! a rope!

36 *canvass*] used here in the special sense of ensnare, catch in a net.
The term was technically applied to a means of trapping wild
hawks.

39-40 *Damascus . . . Abel*] A mediæval legend placed the scene of Cain's
murder of Abel near the site of Damascus.

42 *bearing-cloth*] the cloth on which a child is borne to the baptismal font.

47 *Blue . . . tawny coats*] Blue was the ordinary colour of servants'
liveries in secular households, tawny of those in the service of ec-
clesiastics. The stage direction after line 28, *supra*, describes the
Bishop of Winchester's "men" as dressed "in tawny coats."

53 *Winchester goose*] a slang term for a symptom of venereal disease.
Cf. line 35, *supra*.

Now beat them hence; why do you let them stay?
Thee I 'll chase hence, thou wolf in sheep's array.
Out, tawny coats! out, scarlet hypocrite!

*Here Gloucester's men beat out the Cardinal's men, and enter in
the hurly-burly the Mayor of London and his Officers*

MAY. Fie, lords! that you, being supreme magistrates,
Thus contumeliously should break the peace!

GLOU. Peace, mayor! thou know'st little of my
wrongs:

Here 's Beaufort, that regards nor God nor king, 60
Hath here distrain'd the Tower to his use.

WIN. Here 's Gloucester, a foe to citizens,
One that still motions war and never peace,
O'ercharging your free purses with large fines,
That seeks to overthrow religion,
Because he is protector of the realm,
And would have armour here out of the Tower,
To crown himself king and suppress the prince.

GLOU. I will not answer thee with words, but blows.

[Here they skirmish again.]

MAY. Nought rests for me in this tumultuous strife 71
But to make open proclamation:

Come, officer; as loud as e'er thou canst:
Cry.

OFF. All manner of men assembled here in arms this day
against God's peace and the king's, we charge and command you,

57 *hurly-burly* (in stage direction)] general confusion. Cf. *Mach.*, I, i, 3:
"When the *hurly-burly's* done."

SCENE IV

KING HENRY VI

in his highness' name, to repair to your several dwelling-places ;
and not to wear, handle, or use any sword, weapon, or dagger,
henceforward, upon pain of death.

GLOU. Cardinal, I 'll be no breaker of the law:
But we shall meet, and break our minds at large. 80

WIN. Gloucester, we will meet; to thy cost, be sure:
Thy heart-blood I will have for this day's work.

MAY. I 'll call for clubs, if you will not away.
This cardinal 's more haughty than the devil.

GLOU. Mayor, farewell: thou dost but what thou
mayst.

WIN. Abominable Gloucester, guard thy head;
For I intend to have it ere long.

[*Exeunt, severally, Gloucester and Winchester
with their Serving-men.*]

MAY. See the coast clear'd, and then we will depart.
Good God, these nobles should such stomachs bear!
I myself fight not once in forty year. [*Exeunt.* 90]

SCENE IV — ORLEANS

Enter, on the walls, a Master Gunner and his Boy

M. GUN. Sirrah, thou know'st how Orleans is besieged,
And how the English have the suburbs won.

BOY. Father, I know; and oft have shot at them,
Howe'er unfortunate I miss'd my aim.

83 *I'll call for clubs*] "Clubs" was a common cry of bystanders when
affrays broke out in the streets, and seems intended to summon con-
stables armed with clubs to allay the disturbance.

M. GUN. But now thou shalt not. Be thou ruled by
me:

Chief master-gunner am I of this town;
Something I must do to procure me grace.
The prince's espials have informed me
How the English, in the suburbs close intrench'd,
Wont through a secret grate of iron bars 10
In yonder tower to overpeer the city,
And thence discover how with most advantage
They may vex us with shot or with assault.
To intercept this inconvenience,
A piece of ordnance 'gainst it I have placed;
And even these three days have I watch'd,
If I could see them.
Now do thou watch, for I can stay no longer.
If thou spy'st any, run and bring me word;
And thou shalt find me at the governor's. [Exit. 20]
Boy. Father, I warrant you; take you no care;
I'll never trouble you, if I may spy them. [Exit.]

*Enter, on the turrets, the LORDS SALISBURY and TALBOT, SIR
WILLIAM GLANSDALE, SIR THOMAS GARGRAVE, and others*

SAL. Talbot, my life, my joy, again return'd!
How wert thou handled being prisoner?

10 *Wont*] Are accustomed. This is Steevens' emendation of the Folio reading *Went*.

16-18 *And even . . . longer*] Thus the First Folio. Many conjectural changes have been made to improve the metre without substantive success.

Or by what means got'st thou to be released?
Discourse, I prithee, on this turret's top.

TAL. The Duke of Bedford had a prisoner
Call'd the brave Lord Ponton de Santrailles;
For him was I exchanged and ransomed.
But with a baser man of arms by far
Once in contempt they would have barter'd me:
Which I disdainingly scorn'd, and craved death
Rather than I would be so vile-esteem'd.
In fine, redeem'd I was as I desired.

30

But, O! the treacherous Fastolfe wounds my heart,
Whom with my bare fists I would execute,
If I now had him brought into my power.

SAL. Yet tell'st thou not how thou wert entertain'd.

TAL. With scoffs and scorns and contumelious taunts.
In open market-place produced they me,

40

To be a public spectacle to all:
Here, said they, is the terror of the French,
The scarecrow that affrights our children so.
Then broke I from the officers that led me,
And with my nails digg'd stones out of the ground,
To hurl at the beholders of my shame:
My grisly countenance made others fly;
None durst come near for fear of sudden death.
In iron walls they deem'd me not secure;
So great fear of my name 'mongst them was spread
That they supposed I could rend bars of steel,
And spurn in pieces posts of adamant:

50

33 *vile-esteem'd*] Pope's emendation of the Folio reading *vil'd esteem'd*.

Cf. *Sonnet cxxi*, 1: "'T is better to be vile than *vile esteem'd*."

Wherefore a guard of chosen shot I had,
That walk'd about me every minute while;
And if I did but stir out of my bed,
Ready they were to shoot me to the heart.

Enter the Boy with a linstock

SAL. I grieve to hear what torments you endured,
But we will be revenged sufficiently.
Now it is supper-time in Orleans:
Here, through this grate, I count each one, 60
And view the Frenchmen how they fortify:
Let us look in; the sight will much delight thee.
Sir Thomas Gargrave, and Sir William Glansdale,
Let me have your express opinions
Where is best place to make our battery next.

GAR. I think, at the north gate; for there stand lords.

GLAN. And I, here, at the bulwark of the bridge.

TAL. For aught I see, this city must be famish'd,
Or with light skirmishes enfeebled.

[Here they shoot. Salisbury and Gargrave fall.]

SAL. O Lord, have mercy on us, wretched sinners! 70

GAR. O Lord, have mercy on me, woful man!

TAL. What chance is this that suddenly hath cross'd us?
Speak, Salisbury; at least, if thou canst speak:
How farest thou, mirror of all martial men?
One of thy eyes and thy cheek's side struck off!
Accursed tower! accursed fatal hand
That hath contrived this woful tragedy!

53 *chosen shot*] picked shots or marksmen.

In thirteen battles Salisbury o'ercame;
 Henry the Fifth he first train'd to the wars;
 Whilst any trump did sound, or drum struck up, 80
 His sword did ne'er leave striking in the field.
 Yet livest thou, Salisbury? though thy speech doth fail,
 One eye thou hast, to look to heaven for grace:
 The sun with one eye vieweth all the world.
 Heaven, be thou gracious to none alive,
 If Salisbury wants mercy at thy hands!
 Bear hence his body; I will help to bury it.
 Sir Thomas Gargrave, hast thou any life?
 Speak unto Talbot; nay, look up to him.
 Salisbury, cheer thy spirit with this comfort; 90
 Thou shalt not die whiles —
 He beckons with his hand and smiles on me,
 As who should say "When I am dead and gone,
 Remember to avenge me on the French."
 Plantagenet, I will; and like thee, Nero,
 Play on the lute, beholding the towns burn:
 Wretched shall France be only in my name.
 [Here an alarum, and it thunders and lightens.
 What stir is this? what tumult 's in the heavens?
 Whence cometh this alarum, and the noise?

Enter a Messenger

MESS. My lord, my lord, the French have gather'd head:
 The Dauphin, with one Joan la Pucelle join'd, 101

81 *leave*] leave off, cease.

95 *like thee, Nero*] The First Folio omits *Nero*; the Second Folio reads
Nero like will. The present reading is due to Malone.

A holy prophetess new risen up,
 Is come with a great power to raise the siege.
[Here Salisbury lifteth himself up and groans.]

TAL. Hear, hear how dying Salisbury doth groan!
 It irks his heart he cannot be revenged.
 Frenchmen, I'll be a Salisbury to you:
 Pucelle or puzzel, dolphin or dogfish,
 Your hearts I'll stamp out with my horse's heels,
 And make a quagmire of your mingled brains.
 Convey me Salisbury into his tent, 110
 And then we'll try what these dastard Frenchmen dare.
[Alarum. Exeunt.]

SCENE V—THE SAME

*Here an alarum again: and TALBOT pursueth the DAUPHIN,
 and driveth him: then enter JOAN LA PUCELLE, driving
 Englishmen before her, and exit after them: then re-enter
 TALBOT*

TAL. Where is my strength, my valour, and my force?
 Our English troops retire, I cannot stay them;
 A woman clad in armour chaseth them.

Re-enter LA PUCELLE

Here, here she comes. I'll have a bout with thee;
 Devil or devil's dam, I'll conjure thee:

107 *puzzel*] filthy drab. The word, which comes from the Italian word
 "puzzolente," is variously spelt in Elizabethan English.
dolphin] the common English spelling of the French title Dauphin.

Blood will I draw on thee, thou art a witch,
And straightway give thy soul to him thou servest.

Puc. Come, come, 't is only I that must disgrace thee.
[*Here they fight.*]

TAL. Heavens, can you suffer hell so to prevail?
My breast I 'll burst with straining of my courage, 10
And from my shoulders crack my arms asunder,
But I will chastise this high-minded strumpet.

[*They fight again.*]

Puc. Talbot, farewell; thy hour is not yet come:
I must go victual Orleans forthwith.

[*A short alarum: then enter the town with soldiers.*]

O'ertake me, if thou canst; I scorn thy strength.

Go, go, cheer up thy hungry-starved men;

Help Salisbury to make his testament:

This day is ours, as many more shall be. [*Exit.*]

TAL. My thoughts are whirled like a potter's wheel;
I know not where I am, nor what I do: 20

A witch, by fear, not force, like Hannibal,

Drives back our troops and conquers as she lists:

So bees with smoke and doves with noisome stench

Are from their hives and houses driven away.

They call'd us for our fierceness English dogs;

Now, like to whelps, we crying run away. [*A short alarum.*]

6 *Blood will I draw on thee*] It was a common belief that any one who drew a witch's blood was exempt from her power.

21 *like Hannibal*] Joan of Arc is likened to Hannibal, who broke through the encircling army of Fabius at Casinum by means of a stratagem; he drove among the Roman soldiers a herd of oxen with lighted torches attached to their horns.

Hark, countrymen! either renew the fight,
 Or tear the lions out of England's coat;
 Renounce your soil, give sheep in lions' stead:
 Sheep run not half so treacherous from the wolf, 30
 Or horse or oxen from the leopard,
 As you fly from your oft-subdued slaves.

[*Alarum. Here another skirmish.*

It will not be: retire into your trenches:
 You all consented unto Salisbury's death,
 For none would strike a stroke in his revenge.
 Pucelle is enter'd into Orleans,
 In spite of us or aught that we could do.
 O, would I were to die with Salisbury!
 The shame hereof will make me hide my head.
 [*Exit Talbot. Alarum; retreat; flourish.*

SCENE VI—THE SAME

*Enter, on the walls, LA PUCELLE, CHARLES, REIGNIER,
 ALENÇON, and Soldiers*

PUC. Advance our waving colours on the walls;
 Rescued is Orleans from the English:
 Thus Joan la Pucelle hath perform'd her word.

30 *so treacherous*] in so cowardly a fashion. This is the reading of the Folios, for which Pope substituted *so tim'rous*, which simplifies the passage.

2 *English*] Thus the First Folio. The later Folios read *English wolves*. If *English* be retained by itself, it must be pronounced trisyllabically.

CHAR. Divinest creature, Astræa's daughter,
 How shall I honour thee for this success?
 Thy promises are like Adonis' gardens
 That one day bloom'd and fruitful were the next.
 France, triumph in thy glorious prophetess!
 Recover'd is the town of Orleans:
 More blessed hap did ne'er befall our state. 10

REIG. Why ring not out the bells aloud throughout
 the town?

Dauphin, command the citizens make bonfires
 And feast and banquet in the open streets,
 To celebrate the joy that God hath given us.

ALEN. All France will be replete with mirth and joy,
 When they shall hear how we have play'd the men.

CHAR. 'T is Joan, not we, by whom the day is won;
 For which I will divide my crown with her,
 And all the priests and friars in my realm
 Shall in procession sing her endless praise. 20
 A statelier pyramis to her I'll rear
 Than Rhodope's or Memphis' ever was:

4 *Astræa*] In classical mythology, the goddess of justice, who enforced the performance of promises. Zeus was her father and Themis her mother.

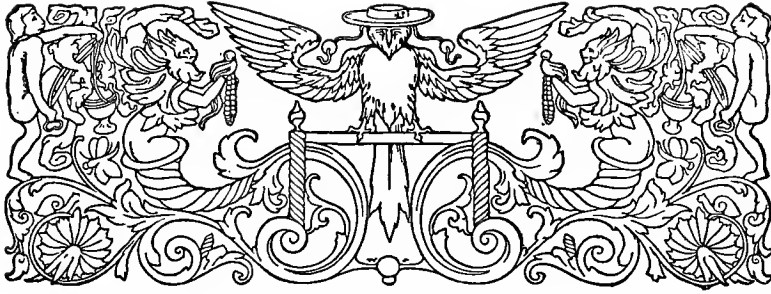
6-7 *Adonis' gardens . . . the next*] This is a curious classical reference. "Gardens of Adonis" (κηποι Ἀδωνιδος) was the name conferred throughout Greece in classical times on earthen vessels in which plants were brought to fruition with exceptional rapidity. Cf. Plato, *Phædrus*, 276. "The garden of Adonis" is represented allegorically by Spenser as the great treasury of nature's seeds. Cf. Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, III, vi, stanzas 29-63.

22 *Rhodope's or Memphis'*] Thus the Folios, save that they omit the apostrophe after Memphis. Memphis, a celebrated city of Egypt,

FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI ACT I

In memory of her when she is dead,
Her ashes, in an urn more precious
Than the rich-jewel'd coffer of Darius,
Transported shall be at high festivals
Before the kings and queens of France.
No longer on Saint Denis will we cry,
But Joan la Pucelle shall be France's saint.
Come in, and let us banquet royally, 30
After this golden day of victory. [Flourish. Exeunt.]

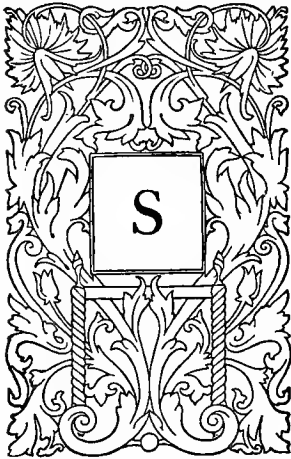
was famed for its pyramids, one of the most imposing of which, according to both Pliny and Plutarch, was built at the expense of Rhodope, a famous Greek courtesan. Capell proposed to read *Rhodope's of Memphis*, which rather improves the sense.
25 *coffer of Darius*] the coffer of which, according to Plutarch, Alexander despoiled the Persian King Darius, and in which he enshrined the poems of Homer. Reference is made to the story in Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589 (ed. Arber, p. 32).



ACT SECOND — SCENE I
BEFORE ORLEANS

Enter a Sergeant of a band, with two Sentinels

SERGEANT



IRS, TAKE YOUR PLACES
and be vigilant:
If any noise or soldier you perceive
Near to the walls, by some apparent sign
Let us have knowledge at the court of guard.
FIRST SENT. Sergeant, you shall. [*Exit Sergeant.*] Thus are poor servitors,
When others sleep upon their quiet beds,
Constrain'd to watch in darkness, rain and cold.

Enter TALBOT, BEDFORD, BURGUNDY, and forces, with scaling-ladders, their drums beating a dead march

TAL. Lord Regent, and redoubted Burgundy,
By whose approach the regions of Artois,

Wallon and Picardy are friends to us,
 This happy night the Frenchmen are secure,
 Having all day caroused and banqueted:
 Embrace we then this opportunity,
 As fitting best to quittance their deceit
 Contrived by art and baleful sorcery.

BED. Coward of France! how much he wrongs his
 fame,

Despairing of his own arm's fortitude,
 To join with witches and the help of hell!

BUR. Traitors have never other company.
 But what's that Pucelle whom they term so pure? 20

TAL. A maid, they say.

BED. A maid! and be so martial!

BUR. Pray God she prove not masculine ere long,
 If underneath the standard of the French
 She carry armour as she hath begun.

TAL. Well, let them practise and converse with spirits:
 God is our fortress, in whose conquering name
 Let us resolve to scale their flinty bulwarks.

BED. Ascend, brave Talbot; we will follow thee.

TAL. Not all together: better far, I guess,
 That we do make our entrance several ways; 30

4 *court of guard*] guard-room; a corruption of the French "corps de garde."

8 *redoubted Burgundy*] brave, doughty Burgundy. The reference is to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, whose sister married the Duke of Bedford.

11 *secure*] careless, unsuspecting, like the Latin "securus."

14-15 *quittance . . . sorcery*] requite their deceit, which was contrived by trickery and mischievous magic.

That, if it chance the one of us do fail,
The other yet may rise against their force.

BED. Agreed: I'll to yond corner.

BUR. And I to this.

TAL. And here will Talbot mount, or make his grave.
Now, Salisbury, for thee, and for the right
Of English Henry, shall this night appear
How much in duty I am bound to both.

SENT. Arm! arm! the enemy doth make assault!

[Cry: "St. George," "A Talbot."]

The French leap over the walls in their shirts. Enter, several ways, the BASTARD OF ORLEANS, ALENÇON, and REIGNIER, half ready, and half unready

ALEN. How now, my lords! what, all unready so?

BAST. Unready! ay, and glad we 'scaped so well. 40

REIG. 'T was time, I trow, to wake and leave our beds,
Hearing alarums at our chamber-doors.

ALEN. Of all exploits since first I follow'd arms,
Ne'er heard I of a warlike enterprise
More venturous or desperate than this.

BAST. I think this Talbot be a fiend of hell.

REIG. If not of hell, the heavens, sure, favour him.

ALEN. Here cometh Charles: I marvel how he sped.

BAST. Tut, holy Joan was his defensive guard.

Enter CHARLES and LA PUCELLE

CHAR. Is this thy cunning, thou deceitful dame? 50
Didst thou at first, to flatter us withal,

39 *unready*] undressed, both here and in the preceding stage direction,
where *half ready* means half dressed.

Make us partakers of a little gain,
That now our loss might be ten times so much?

PUC. Wherefore is Charles impatient with his friend?
At all times will you have my power alike?
Sleeping or waking must I still prevail,
Or will you blame and lay the fault on me?
Improvident soldiers! had your watch been good,
This sudden mischief never could have fall'n.

CHAR. Duke of Alençon, this was your default, 60
That, being captain of the watch to-night,
Did look no better to that weighty charge.

ALEN. Had all your quarters been as safely kept
As that whereof I had the government,
We had not been thus shamefully surprised.

BAST. Mine was secure.

REIG. And so was mine, my lord.

CHAR. And, for myself, most part of all this
night,
Within her quarter and mine own precinct
I was employ'd in passing to and fro,
About relieving of the sentinels: 70

Then how or which way should they first break in?

PUC. Question, my lords, no further of the case,
How or which way: 't is sure they found some place
But weakly guarded, where the breach was made.
And now there rests no other shift but this;
To gather our soldiers, scatter'd and dispersed,
And lay new platforms to endamage them.

77 *lay . . . endamage them*] make new plans to injure them. The stage
direction which follows bears witness to a long-lived English tradi-

*Alarum. Enter an English Soldier, crying "A Talbot!
A Talbot!" They fly, leaving their clothes behind*

SOLD. I'll be so bold to take what they have left.
The cry of Talbot serves me for a sword;
For I have loaden me with many spoils, 80
Using no other weapon but his name. [Exit.]

SCENE II—ORLEANS

WITHIN THE TOWN

Enter TALBOT, BEDFORD, BURGUNDY, a Captain, and others

BED. The day begins to break, and night is fled,
Whose pitchy mantle over-veil'd the earth.
Here sound retreat, and cease our hot pursuit.
[Retreat sounded.]

TAL. Bring forth the body of old Salisbury,
And here advance it in the market-place,
The middle centre of this cursed town.
Now have I paid my vow unto his soul;
For every drop of blood was drawn from him
There hath at least five Frenchmen died to-night.
And that hereafter ages may behold 10
What ruin happen'd in revenge of him,
Within their chiefest temple I'll erect
A tomb, wherein his corpse shall be interr'd:

tion that the mere mention of Talbot's name bred incredible terror
in French hearers. See II, iii, 15-16, *infra*.

Upon the which, that every one may read,
Shall be engraved the sack of Orleans,
The treacherous manner of his mournful death
And what a terror he had been to France
But, lords, in all our bloody massacre,
I muse we met not with the Dauphin's grace,
His new-come champion, virtuous Joan of Arc, 20
Nor any of his false confederates.

BED. 'T is thought, Lord Talbot, when the fight began,
Roused on the sudden from their drowsy beds,
They did amongst the troops of armed men
Leap o'er the walls for refuge in the field.

BUR. Myself, as far as I could well discern
For smoke and dusky vapours of the night,
Am sure I scared the Dauphin and his trull,
When arm in arm they both came swiftly running,
Like to a pair of loving turtle-doves 30
That could not live asunder day or night.
After that things are set in order here,
We 'll follow them with all the power we have.

Enter a Messenger

MESS. All hail, my lords! Which of this princely train
Call ye the warlike Talbot, for his acts
So much applauded through the realm of France?

TAL. Here is the Talbot: who would speak with him?

MESS. The virtuous lady, Countess of Auvergne,
With modesty admiring thy renown,

19 *I muse . . . grace*] I am surprised we did not meet his grace the Dauphin.

By me entreats, great lord, thou wouldst vouchsafe 40
To visit her poor castle where she lies,
That she may boast she hath beheld the man
Whose glory fills the world with loud report.

BUR. Is it even so? Nay, then, I see our wars
Will turn unto a peaceful comic sport,
When ladies crave to be encounter'd with.
You may not, my lord, despise her gentle suit.

TAL. Ne'er trust me then; for when a world of men
Could not prevail with all their oratory,
Yet hath a woman's kindness over-ruled: 50
And therefore tell her I return great thanks,
And in submission will attend on her.
Will not your honours bear me company?

BED. No, truly; it is more than manners will:
And I have heard it said, unbidden guests
Are often welcomest when they are gone.

TAL. Well then, alone, since there's no remedy,
I mean to prove this lady's courtesy.
Come hither, captain. [*Whispers.*] You perceive my mind?

CAPT. I do, my lord, and mean accordingly. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III—AUVERGNE

THE COUNTESS'S CASTLE

Enter the COUNTESS and her Porter

COUNT. Porter, remember what I gave in charge;
And when you have done so, bring the keys to me.

41 *lies*] dwells.

PORT. Madam, I will.

[*Exit.*

COUNT. The plot is laid: if all things fall out right,
I shall as famous be by this exploit
As Scythian Tomyris by Cyrus' death.
Great is the rumour of this dreadful knight,
And his achievements of no less account:
Fain would mine eyes be witness with mine ears,
To give their censure of these rare reports.

10

Enter Messenger and TALBOT

MESS. Madam,
According as your ladyship desired,
By message craved, so is Lord Talbot come.
COUNT. And he is welcome. What! is this the man?
MESS. Madam, it is.

COUNT. Is this the scourge of France?
Is this the Talbot, so much fear'd abroad
That with his name the mothers still their babes?
I see report is fabulous and false:
I thought I should have seen some Hercules,
A second Hector, for his grim aspect,
And large proportion of his strong-knit limbs.
Alas, this is a child, a silly dwarf!

20

6 *Tomyris*] Queen of the Scythian tribe of Massagetæ, who defeated the invading army of Cyrus, the great Persian king, and, after he was slain in the battle, had his head flung into a bag filled with human blood.

10 *censure*] opinion, judgment. Cf. *Rich. III*, II, ii, 144: "To give your *censures* in this weighty business."

22 *silly*] harmless.

It cannot be this weak and writhled shrimp
Should strike such terror to his enemies.

TAL. Madam, I have been bold to trouble you;
But since your ladyship is not at leisure,
I'll sort some other time to visit you.

COUNT. What means he now? Go ask him whither he
goes.

MESS. Stay, my Lord Talbot; for my lady craves
To know the cause of your abrupt departure. 30

TAL. Marry, for that she's in a wrong belief,
I go to certify her Talbot's here.

Re-enter Porter with keys

COUNT. If thou be he, then art thou prisoner.

TAL. Prisoner! to whom?

COUNT. To me, blood-thirsty lord;
And for that cause I train'd thee to my house.
Long time thy shadow hath been thrall to me,
For in my gallery thy picture hangs:
But now the substance shall endure the like,
And I will chain these legs and arms of thine, 40
That hast by tyranny these many years
Wasted our country, slain our citizens,
And sent our sons and husbands captivate.

TAL. Ha, ha, ha!

23 *writhled shrimp*] shrivelled or wrinkled midget.

35 *train'd*] enticed, allured.

42 *captive*] made captive. Cf. V, iii, 107, *infra*: "women have been
captive ere now."

COUNT. Laughest thou, wretch? thy mirth shall turn
to moan.

TAL. I laugh to see your ladyship so fond
To think that you have aught but Talbot's shadow
Whereon to practise your severity.

COUNT. Why, art not thou the man?

TAL. I am indeed.

COUNT. Then have I substance too.

TAL. No, no, I am but shadow of myself: 50
You are deceived, my substance is not here:
For what you see is but the smallest part
And least proportion of humanity:
I tell you, madam, were the whole frame here,
It is of such a spacious lofty pitch,
Your roof were not sufficient to contain 't.

COUNT. This is a riddling merchant for the nonce;
He will be here, and yet he is not here:
How can these contrarities agree?

TAL. That will I show you presently. 60

[Winds his horn. Drums strike up: a peal
of ordnance. Enter Soldiers.]

How say you, madam? are you now persuaded
That Talbot is but shadow of himself?
These are his substance, sinews, arms and strength,
With which he yoketh your rebellious necks,
Razeth your cities and subverts your towns
And in a moment makes them desolate.

57 *This is a riddling merchant for the nonce*] This is a fellow dealing in
riddles for the occasion. For this colloquial sense of "merchant,"
cf. *Rom. and Jul.*, II, iv, 162: "what saucy merchant was this?"

COUNT. Victorious Talbot! pardon my abuse:
 I find thou art no less than fame hath bruited,
 And more than may be gather'd by thy shape.
 Let my presumption not provoke thy wrath; 70
 For I am sorry that with reverence
 I did not entertain thee as thou art.

TAL. Be not dismay'd, fair lady; nor misconstrue
 The mind of Talbot, as you did mistake
 The outward composition of his body.
 What you have done hath not offended me;
 Nor other satisfaction do I crave,
 But only, with your patience, that we may
 Taste of your wine and see what cates you have;
 For soldiers' stomachs always serve them well. 80

COUNT. With all my heart, and think me honoured
 To feast so great a warrior in my house. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV—LONDON

THE TEMPLE-GARDEN

Enter the EARLS OF SOMERSET, SUFFOLK, *and* WARWICK;
 RICHARD PLANTAGENET, VERNON, *and another* Lawyer

PLAN. Great lords and gentlemen, what means this
 silence?

Dare no man answer in a case of truth?

SUF. Within the Temple-hall we were too loud;
 The garden here is more convenient.

79 *cates*] dainties.

PLAN. Then say at once if I maintain'd the truth;
Or else was wrangling Somerset in the error?

SUF. Faith, I have been a truant in the law,
And never yet could frame my will to it;
And therefore frame the law unto my will.

SOM. Judge you, my lord of Warwick, then, between
us. 10

WAR. Between two hawks, which flies the higher pitch;
Between two dogs, which hath the deeper mouth;
Between two blades, which bears the better temper:
Between two horses, which doth bear him best;
Between two girls, which hath the merriest eye;
I have perhaps some shallow spirit of judgement:
But in these nice sharp quilllets of the law,
Good faith, I am no wiser than a daw.

PLAN. Tut, tut, here is a mannerly forbearance:
The truth appears so naked on my side 20
That any purblind eye may find it out.

SOM. And on my side it is so well apparell'd,
So clear, so shining and so evident
That it will glimmer through a blind man's eye.

PLAN. Since you are tongue-tied and so loath to
speak,
In dumb significants proclaim your thoughts:
Let him that is a true-born gentleman,

6 *Or else . . . error?*] Or, in other words, was quarrelsome Somerset wrong? There is no opposition between this question and that implied in the preceding line.

26 *In dumb significants*] In dumb signs, in dumb show. Cf. *L. L. L.*, III, i, 124, "bear this *significant*," where "significant" is affectedly used by Armado for "a letter," that which signifies the speaker's meaning.

And stands upon the honour of his birth,
If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,
From off this brier pluck a white rose with me. 30

SOM. Let him that is no coward nor no flatterer,
But dare maintain the party of the truth,
Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me.

WAR. I love no colours, and without all colour
Of base insinuating flattery
I pluck this white rose with Plantagenet.

SUF. I pluck this red rose with young Somerset,
And say withal I think he held the right.

VER. Stay, lords and gentlemen, and pluck no more,
Till you conclude that he, upon whose side 40
The fewest roses are cropp'd from the tree,
Shall yield the other in the right opinion.

SOM. Good Master Vernon, it is well objected:
If I have fewest, I subscribe in silence.

PLAN. And I.

VER. Then for the truth and plainness of the case,
I pluck this pale and maiden blossom here,
Giving my verdict on the white rose side.

SOM. Prick not your finger as you pluck it off,
Lest bleeding you do paint the white rose red, 50
And fall on my side so, against your will.

VER. If I, my lord, for my opinion bleed,

34 *I love no colours*] A quibble on the two senses of the word, namely
"hues" and "pretences." Cf. *L. L. L.*, IV, ii, 140-141: "I do fear
colourable colours."

43 *well objected*] justly proposed.

44 *subscribe*] yield, submit.

Opinion shall be surgeon to my hurt
And keep me on the side where still I am.

SOM. Well, well, come on: who else?

LAW. Unless my study and my books be false,
The argument you held was wrong in you; [*To Somerset.*
In sign whereof I pluck a white rose too.

PLAN. Now, Somerset, where is your argument?

SOM. Here in my scabbard, meditating that 60
Shall dye your white rose in a bloody red.

PLAN. Meantime your cheeks do counterfeit our roses;
For pale they look with fear, as witnessing
The truth on our side.

SOM. No, Plantagenet,
'T is not for fear but anger that thy cheeks
Blush for pure shame to counterfeit our roses,
And yet thy tongue will not confess thy error.

PLAN. Hath not thy rose a canker, Somerset?

SOM. Hath not thy rose a thorn, Plantagenet?

PLAN. Ay, sharp and piercing, to maintain his truth; 70
Whiles thy consuming canker eats his falsehood.

SOM. Well, I'll find friends to wear my bleeding roses.
That shall maintain what I have said is true,
Where false Plantagenet dare not be seen.

PLAN. Now, by this maiden blossom in my hand,
I scorn thee and thy fashion, peevish boy.

65-66 '*T is not for fear . . . roses*] Not from fear do my cheeks look pale, but from anger caused by the blush on thy cheeks, which counterfeits our red roses out of pure shame (at thy persistence in error).

76 *fashion*] Thus the Folios. Theobald proposed *faction*, a change which

SUF. Turn not thy scorns this way, Pantagenet.

PLAN. Proud Pole, I will, and scorn both him and thee.

SUF. I 'll turn my part thereof into thy throat.

SOM. Away, away, good William de la Pole! 80

We grace the yeoman by conversing with him.

WAR. Now, by God's will, thou wrong'st him, Somerset;

His grandfather was Lionel Duke of Clarence,
Third son to the third Edward King of England:
Spring crestless yeomen from so deep a root?

PLAN. He bears him on the place's privilege,
Or durst not, for his craven heart, say thus.

SOM. By him that made me, I 'll maintain my words
On any plot of ground in Christendom. 90

Was not thy father, Richard Earl of Cambridge,
For treason executed in our late king's days?

And, by his treason, stand'st not thou attainted,
Corrupted, and exempt from ancient gentry?

His trespass yet lives guilty in thy blood;
And, till thou be restored, thou art a yeoman.

PLAN. My father was attached, not attainted,

is not essential. "Fashion" doubtless refers to Somerset's wearing the badge of the red rose.

83 *His grandfather*] Lionel Duke of Clarence was not *grandfather* to Richard Plantagenet, but was his maternal great-great-grandfather.

85 *crestless yeomen*] yeomen who have no right to coat armour.

86 *He . . . privilege*] He trusts to the privilege of sanctuary attaching to the Temple, the place of the present meeting, to escape punishment for his insolent speech.

96 *attached, not attainted*] arrested, not convicted after trial. "Attached"

Condemn'd to die for treason, but no traitor;
 And that I'll prove on better men than Somerset,
 Were growing time once ripen'd to my will.
 For your partaker Pole and you yourself, 100
 I'll note you in my book of memory,
 To scourge you for this apprehension:
 Look to it well and say you are well warn'd.

SOM. Ah, thou shalt find us ready for thee still;
 And know us by these colours for thy foes,
 For these my friends in spite of thee shall wear.

PLAN. And, by my soul, this pale and angry rose,
 As cognizance of my blood-drinking hate,
 Will I for ever and my faction wear,
 Until it wither with me to my grave, 110
 Or flourish to the height of my degree.

SUF. Go forward and be choked with thy ambition!
 And so farewell until I meet thee next. [Exit.

SOM. Have with thee, Pole. Farewell, ambitious
 Richard. [Exit.

PLAN. How I am braved and must perforce endure it!

WAR. This blot that they object against your house
 Shall be wiped out in the next parliament
 Call'd for the truce of Winchester and Gloucester;
 And if thou be not then created York,

is here a trisyllable. The Earl of Cambridge confessed his offence.
 Cf. *Hen. V*, II, ii, 66-181.

100 *partaker*] confederate.

102 *apprehension*] faculty for sarcasm, as in *Much Ado*, III, iv, 59-60:
 "how long have you professed *apprehension*?"

114 *Have with thee*] I go with thee, let us go together.

I will not live to be accounted Warwick. 120
 Meantime, in signal of my love to thee,
 Against proud Somerset and William Pole,
 Will I upon thy party wear this rose:
 And here I prophesy: this brawl to-day,
 Grown to this faction in the Temple-garden,
 Shall send between the red rose and the white
 A thousand souls to death and deadly night.
 PLAN. Good Master Vernon, I am bound to you,
 That you on my behalf would pluck a flower.
 VER. In your behalf still will I wear the same. 130
 LAW. And so will I.
 PLAN. Thanks, gentle sir.
 Come, let us four to dinner: I dare say
 This quarrel will drink blood another day. [Exeunt.

SCENE V—THE TOWER OF LONDON

Enter MORTIMER, brought in a chair, and Gaolers

MOR. Kind keepers of my weak decaying age,
 Let dying Mortimer here rest himself.
 Even like a man new haled from the rack,
 So fare my limbs with long imprisonment;

2 *dying Mortimer*] There is no historical foundation for this account of the death of Edmund Mortimer, the Earl of March, who, after enjoying the favour of King Henry V throughout his reign, died of natural causes in his own castle early in Henry VI's reign. The dramatist seems to have confused Edmund Mortimer with a less famous cousin, Sir John Mortimer, who suffered a long imprisonment in the Tower.

And these grey locks, the pursuivants of death,
 Nestor-like aged in an age of care,
 Argue the end of Edmund Mortimer.
 These eyes, like lamps whose wasting oil is spent,
 Wax dim, as drawing to their exigent;
 Weak shoulders, overborne with burthening grief, 10
 And pithless arms, like to a wither'd vine
 That droops his sapless branches to the ground:
 Yet are these feet, whose strengthless stay is numb,
 Unable to support this lump of clay,
 Swift-winged with desire to get a grave,
 As witting I no other comfort have.
 But tell me, keeper, will my nephew come?

FIRST GAOL. Richard Plantagenet, my lord, will come:
 We sent unto the Temple, unto his chamber;
 And answer was return'd that he will come. 20

MOR. Enough: my soul shall then be satisfied.
 Poor gentleman! his wrong doth equal mine.
 Since Henry Monmouth first began to reign,
 Before whose glory I was great in arms,
 This loathsome sequestration have I had;
 And even since then hath Richard been obscured,
 Deprived of honour and inheritance.
 But now the arbitrator of despairs,

5 *the pursuivants of death*] the heralds forerunning death, and proclaiming its approach.

9 *exigent*] end. Cf. *The Wisdome of Dr. Dodypoll*, IV, 3: "my barbarous rudenesse to her Hath driven her to some desperate *exigent*."

28 *arbitrator*] settler, and so terminator. Cf. *Troil. and Cress.*, IV, v, 225-226: "And that old common *arbitrator*, Time, Will one day *end* it."

Just death, kind umpire of men's miseries,
With sweet enlargement doth dismiss me hence: 30
I would his troubles likewise were expired,
That so he might recover what was lost.

Enter RICHARD PLANTAGENET

FIRST GAOL. My lord, your loving nephew now is
come.

MOR. Richard Plantagenet, my friend, is he come?

PLAN. Ay, noble uncle, thus ignobly used,
Your nephew, late despised Richard, comes.

MOR. Direct mine arms I may embrace his neck,
And in his bosom spend my latter gasp:
O, tell me when my lips do touch his cheeks,
That I may kindly give one fainting kiss. 40
And now declare, sweet stem from York's great
stock,

Why didst thou say of late thou wert despised?

PLAN. First, lean thine aged back against mine
arm;

And, in that ease, I'll tell thee my disease.

This day, in argument upon a case,

Some words there grew 'twixt Somerset and me;

Among which terms he used his lavish tongue

And did upbraid me with my father's death:

Which obloquy set bars before my tongue,

Else with the like I had requited him. 50

Therefore, good uncle, for my father's sake,

44 *my disease*] my trouble.

In honour of a true Plantagenet
 And for alliance sake, declare the cause
 My father, Earl of Cambridge, lost his head.

MOR. That cause, fair nephew, that imprison'd me
 And hath detain'd me all my flowering youth
 Within a loathsome dungeon, there to pine,
 Was cursed instrument of his decease.

PLAN. Discover more at large what cause that was,
 For I am ignorant and cannot guess. 60

MOR. I will, if that my fading breath permit,
 And death approach not ere my tale be done.
 Henry the Fourth, grandfather to this king,
 Deposed his nephew Richard, Edward's son,
 The first-begotten and the lawful heir
 Of Edward king, the third of that descent:
 During whose reign the Percies of the north,
 Finding his usurpation most unjust,
 Endeavour'd my advancement to the throne:
 The reason moved these warlike lords to this 70
 Was, for that — young King Richard thus removed,
 Leaving no heir begotten of his body —
 I was the next by birth and parentage;
 For by my mother I derived am
 From Lionel Duke of Clarence, the third son
 To King Edward the Third; whereas he

53 *for alliance sake*] for the sake of kinship.

64 *his nephew Richard*] Richard II was first-cousin to Henry IV.

"Nephew" is used in the vague sense of the Latin "nepos."

74-75 *my mother . . . Clarence*] Duke Lionel was father of Mortimer's paternal grandmother.

From John of Gaunt doth bring his pedigree,
 Being but fourth of that heroic line.
 But mark: as in this haughty great attempt
 They laboured to plant the rightful heir, 80
 I lost my liberty and they their lives.
 Long after this, when Henry the Fifth,
 Succeeding his father Bolingbroke, did reign,
 Thy father, Earl of Cambridge, then derived
 From famous Edmund Langley, Duke of York,
 Marrying my sister that thy mother was,
 Again in pity of my hard distress
 Levied an army, weening to redeem
 And have install'd me in the diadem:
 But, as the rest, so fell that noble earl 90
 And was beheaded. Thus the Mortimers,
 In whom the title rested, were suppress'd.

PLAN. Of which, my lord, your honour is the last.

MOR. True; and thou seest that I no issue have,
 And that my fainting words do warrant death:
 Thou art my heir; the rest I wish thee gather:
 But yet be wary in thy studious care.

PLAN. Thy grave admonishments prevail with me:
 But yet, methinks, my father's execution
 Was nothing less than bloody tyranny. 100

MOR. With silence, nephew, be thou politic:
 Strong-fixed is the house of Lancaster,

88 *Levied an army*] There is no historic foundation for this statement that the Earl of Cambridge levied an army against Henry V. See note on II, iv, 96, *supra*, and *Hen. V*, II, ii, 66-181.

96 *the rest . . . gather*] the consequences I wish thee to infer.

And like a mountain not to be removed.
 But now thy uncle is removing hence;
 As princes do their courts, when they are cloy'd
 With long continuance in a settled place.

PLAN. O, uncle, would some part of my young
 years

Might but redeem the passage of your age!

MOR. Thou dost then wrong me, as that slaughterer
 doth

Which giveth many wounds when one will kill. 110

Mourn not, except thou sorrow for my good;

Only give order for my funeral:

And so farewell, and fair be all thy hopes,

And prosperous be thy life in peace and war! [*Dies.*

PLAN. And peace, no war, befall thy parting
 soul!

In prison hast thou spent a pilgrimage,

And like a hermit overpass'd thy days.

Well, I will lock his counsel in my breast;

And what I do imagine let that rest.

Keepers, convey him hence, and I myself 120

Will see his burial better than his life.

[*Exeunt Gaolers, bearing out the body of Mortimer.*

Here dies the dusky torch of Mortimer,

Choked with ambition of the meaner sort:

And for those wrongs, those bitter injuries,

Which Somerset hath offer'd to my house,

108 *redeem the passage*] purchase the continuance of your aged life, secure
 an extension of your days.

123 *with . . . sort*] by the ambition of men of lower rank.

SCENE V

KING HENRY VI

I doubt not but with honour to redress;
And therefore haste I to the parliament,
Either to be restored to my blood,
Or make my ill the advantage of my good. [Exit.

129 *make my ill . . . good*] make the wrong done me, my ill-usage, a
vantage ground or occasion of benefit to myself. Theobald here
substituted *ill* for the Folio reading *will*.

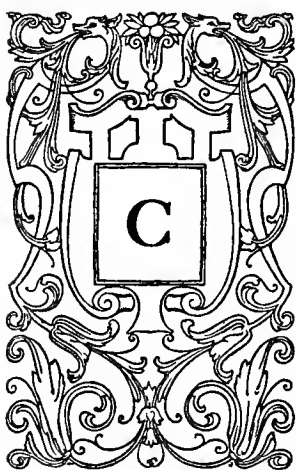


ACT THIRD — SCENE I — LONDON

THE PARLIAMENT-HOUSE

Flourish. Enter KING, EXETER, GLOUCESTER, WARWICK, SOMERSET, and SUFFOLK; the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, RICHARD PLANTAGENET, and others. GLOUCESTER offers to put up a bill; WINCHESTER snatches it, tears it

WINCHESTER



OMEST THOU WITH
 deep premeditated lines,
 With written pamphlets studi-
 ously devised,
 Humphrey of Gloucester? If
 thou canst accuse,
 Or aught intend'st to lay unto
 my charge,
 Do it without invention, sud-
 denly;
 As I with sudden and extempo-
 ral speech
 Purpose to answer what thou
 canst object.

GLOU. Presumptuous priest! this place commands
 my patience,
 Or thou shouldst find thou hast dishonour'd me.

SCENE I FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI

Think not, although in writing I preferr'd 10
 The manner of thy vile outrageous crimes,
 That therefore I have forged, or am not able
 Verbatim to rehearse the method of my pen:
 No, prelate; such is thy audacious wickedness,
 Thy lewd, pestiferous and dissentious pranks,
 As very infants prattle of thy pride.
 Thou art a most pernicious usurer,
 Froward by nature, enemy to peace;
 Lascivious, wanton, more than well beseems 20
 A man of thy profession and degree;
 And for thy treachery, what's more manifest?
 In that thou laid'st a trap to take my life,
 As well at London-bridge as at the Tower.
 Beside, I fear me, if thy thoughts were sifted,
 The king, thy sovereign, is not quite exempt
 From envious malice of thy swelling heart.

WIN. Gloucester, I do defy thee. Lords, vouch-
 safe

To give me hearing what I shall reply.
 If I were covetous, ambitious or perverse,
 As he will have me, how am I so poor? 30
 Or how haps it I seek not to advance
 Or raise myself, but keep my wonted calling?

1 *lines*] written lines of the bill or indictment mentioned in the preceding stage directions.

5 *invention*] premeditated device.

10 *preferr'd*] set forth, presented. In lines 33 and 110, *infra*, the word seems used in the sense of "promote."

13 *Verbatim*] By word of mouth.

And for dissension, who preferreth peace
 More than I do? — except I be provoked.
 No, my good lords, it is not that offends;
 It is not that that hath incensed the duke:
 It is, because no one should sway but he;
 No one but he should be about the king;
 And that engenders thunder in his breast,
 And makes him roar these accusations forth. 40
 But he shall know I am as good —

GLOU. As good!

Thou bastard of my grandfather!

WIN. Ay, lordly sir; for what are you, I pray,
 But one imperious in another's throne?

GLOU. Am I not protector, saucy priest?

WIN. And am not I a prelate of the church?

GLOU. Yes, as an outlaw in a castle keeps
 And useth it to patronage his theft.

WIN. Unreverent Gloster!

GLOU. Thou art reverent
 Touching thy spiritual function, not thy life. 50

WIN. Rome shall remedy this.

33 *preferreth*] promoteth. See note on line 10, *supra*.

42 *Thou bastard . . . grandfather*] The Bishop of Winchester was an illegitimate son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by Catherine Swynford, whom the Duke afterwards married.

44 *imperious*] exercising power, reigning.

47 *keeps*] dwells, stays.

49 *reverent*] Thus the First and Second Folios, for which the Third and Fourth substituted *reverend*, which is the meaning of the word here. Cf. V, iii, 47, *infra*.

WAR. Roam thither, then.

SOM. My lord, it were your duty to forbear.

WAR. Ay, see the bishop be not overborne.

SOM. Methinks my lord should be religious,
And know the office that belongs to such.

WAR. Methinks his lordship should be humbler;
It fitteth not a prelate so to plead.

SOM. Yes, when his holy state is touch'd so
near.

WAR. State holy or unhallow'd, what of that?
Is not his grace protector to the king? 60

PLAN. [*Aside*] Plantagenet, I see, must hold his
tongue,

Lest it be said "Speak, sirrah, when you should;
Must your bold verdict enter talk with lords?"
Else would I have a fling at Winchester.

KING. Uncles of Gloucester and of Winchester,
The special watchmen of our English weal,
I would prevail, if prayers might prevail,
To join your hearts in love and amity.
O, what a scandal is it to our crown,
That two such noble peers as ye should jar! 70
Believe me, lords, my tender years can tell
Civil dissention is a viperous worm
That gnaws the bowels of the commonwealth.

[*A noise within*, "Down with the tawny-coats!"]
What tumult 's this?

WAR. An uproar, I dare warrant,
Begun through malice of the bishop's men.
[*A noise again*, "Stones! stones!"]

Enter Mayor

MAY. O, my good lords, and virtuous Henry,
 Pity the city of London, pity us!
 The bishop and the Duke of Gloucester's men,
 Forbidden late to carry any weapon,
 Have fill'd their pockets full of pebble stones, 80
 And banding themselves in contrary parts
 Do pelt so fast at one another's pate
 That many have their giddy brains knock'd out:
 Our windows are broke down in every street,
 And we for fear compell'd to shut our shops.

Enter Serving-men, in skirmish, with bloody pates

KING. We charge you, on allegiance to ourself,
 To hold your slaughtering hands and keep the peace.
 Pray, uncle Gloucester, mitigate this strife.

FIRST SERV. Nay, if we be forbidden stones, we 'll fall
 to it with our teeth. 90

SEC. SERV. Do what ye dare, we are as resolute.

[Skirmish again.]

GLOU. You of my household, leave this peevish broil
 And set this unaccustom'd fight aside.

THIRD SERV. My lord, we know your grace to be a
 man
 Just and upright; and, for your royal birth,

78 *The bishop*] The bishop's men. For a like omission of the possessive inflexion in a similar construction cf. *Rich. II*, II, iii, 62: "Shall be your *love* and labour's recompense."

93 *unaccustom'd*] unwonted, unseemly.

Inferior to none but to his majesty:
 And ere that we will suffer such a prince,
 So kind a father of the commonweal,
 To be disgraced by an inkhorn mate,
 We and our wives and children all will fight, 100
 And have our bodies slaughter'd by thy foes.

FIRST SERV. Ay, and the very parings of our nails
 Shall pitch a field when we are dead. [Begin again.

GLOU. Stay, stay, I say!
 And if you love me, as you say you do,
 Let me persuade you to forbear awhile.

KING. O, how this discord doth afflict my soul!
 Can you, my Lord of Winchester, behold
 My sighs and tears and will not once relent?
 Who should be pitiful, if you be not? 110
 Or who should study to prefer a peace,
 If holy churchmen take delight in broils?

WAR. Yield, my lord protector; yield, Winchester;
 Except you mean with obstinate repulse
 To slay your sovereign and destroy the realm.
 You see what mischief and what murder too
 Hath been enacted through your enmity;
 Then be at peace, except ye thirst for blood.

WIN. He shall submit, or I will never yield.

GLOU. Compassion on the king commands me stoop;
 Or I would see his heart out, ere the priest 120
 Should ever get that privilege of me.

99 *an inkhorn mate*] a fellow who reads and writes, a mere bookworm.

103 *pitch a field*] array themselves for battle.

110 *prefer*] promote. See note on line 10, *supra*.

WAR. Behold, my Lord of Winchester, the duke
Hath banish'd moody discontented fury,
As by his smoothed brows it doth appear:
Why look you still so stern and tragical?

GLOU. Here, Winchester, I offer thee my hand.

KING. Fie, uncle Beaufort! I have heard you preach
That malice was a great and grievous sin;
And will not you maintain the thing you teach,
But prove a chief offender in the same? 130

WAR. Sweet king! the bishop hath a kindly gird.
For shame, my lord of Winchester, relent!
What, shall a child instruct you what to do?

WIN. Well, Duke of Gloucester, I will yield to thee;
Love for thy love and hand for hand I give.

GLOU. [*Aside*] Ay, but, I fear me, with a hollow
heart. —

See here, my friends and loving countrymen;
This token serveth for a flag of truce
Betwixt ourselves and all our followers:
So help me God, as I dissemble not! 140

WIN. [*Aside*] So help me God, as I intend it not!

KING. O loving uncle, kind Duke of Gloucester,
How joyful am I made by this contract!
Away, my masters! trouble us no more;
But join in friendship, as your lords have done.

FIRST SERV. Content: I'll to the surgeon's.

SEC. SERV. And so will I.

131 *a kindly gird*] a gentle reproof.

138 *This token*] No token is noticed in the text. Gloucester doubtless
takes the Bishop of Winchester by the hand as he speaks these words.

THIRD SERV. And I will see what physic the tavern
affords. [*Exeunt Serving-men, Mayor, &c.*]

WAR. Accept this scroll, most gracious sovereign,
Which in the right of Richard Plantagenet 150
We do exhibit to your majesty.

GLOU. Well urged, my Lord of Warwick: for, sweet
prince,
An if your grace mark every circumstance,
You have great reason to do Richard right;
Especially for those occasions
At Eltham place I told your majesty.

KING. And those occasions, uncle, were of force:
Therefore, my loving lords, our pleasure is
That Richard be restored to his blood.

WAR. Let Richard be restored to his blood; 160
So shall his father's wrongs be recompensed.

WIN. As will the rest, so willeth Winchester.

KING. If Richard will be true, not that alone
But all the whole inheritance I give
That doth belong unto the house of York,
From whence you spring by lineal descent.

PLAN. Thy humble servant vows obedience
'And humble service till the point of death.

KING. Stoop then and set your knee against my
foot
And, in reguerdon of that duty done, 170

156 *At Eltham . . . majesty*] of which I told your majesty at Eltham Place.

159 *restored to his blood*] reinstated in his hereditary honours, of which
he was deprived on his father's execution.

170 *reguerdon*] reward. The word appears as a verb, III, iv, 23, *infra*.

I gird thee with the valiant sword of York:
Rise, Richard, like a true Plantagenet,
And rise created princely Duke of York.

PLAN. And so thrive Richard as thy foes may fall!
And as my duty springs, so perish they
That grudge one thought against your majesty!

ALL. Welcome, high prince, the mighty Duke of
York!

SOM. [*Aside*] Perish, base prince, ignoble Duke of
York!

GLOU. Now will it best avail your majesty
To cross the seas and to be crown'd in France: 180
The presence of a king engenders love
Amongst his subjects and his loyal friends,
As it disanimates his enemies.

KING. When Gloucester says the word, King Henry
goes;
For friendly counsel cuts off many foes.

GLOU. Your ships already are in readiness.

[*Sennet. Flourish. Exeunt all but Exeter.*]

EXE. Ay, we may march in England or in France,
Not seeing what is likely to ensue.
This late dissension grown betwixt the peers
Burns under feigned ashes of forged love, 190
And will at last break out into a flame:
As fester'd members rot but by degree,
Till bones and flesh and sinews fall away,
So will this base and envious discord breed.

176 *grudge one thought*] harbour any grudge.

183 *disanimates*] discourages, dispirits.

And now I fear that fatal prophecy
 Which in the time of Henry named the fifth
 Was in the mouth of every sucking babe;
 That Henry born at Monmouth should win all
 And Henry born at Windsor lose all:
 Which is so plain, that Exeter doth wish
 His days may finish ere that hapless time.

200

[*Exit.*]

SCENE II—FRANCE

BEFORE ROUEN

*Enter LA PUCELLE disguised, with four Soldiers with
 sacks upon their backs*

PUC. These are the city gates, the gates of Rouen,
 Through which our policy must make a breach:
 Take heed, be wary how you place your words;
 Talk like the vulgar sort of market men
 That come to gather money for their corn.
 If we have entrance, as I hope we shall,
 And that we find the slothful watch but weak,
 I'll by a sign give notice to our friends,
 That Charles the Dauphin may encounter them.

FIRST SOL. Our sacks shall be a mean to sack the city,¹⁰
 And we be lords and rulers over Rouen;
 Therefore we'll knock.

[*Knocks.*]

WATCH. [*Within*] Qui est là?

13 *Qui est là ?*] Malone's emendation of the unintelligible *Che la* of the Folios. "*Qui va là ?*" would be better French.

PUC. Paysans, pauvres gens de France;
 Poor market folks that come to sell their corn.

WATCH. Enter, go in; the market bell is rung.

PUC. Now, Rouen, I 'll shake thy bulwarks to the
 ground. [*Exeunt.*]

*Enter CHARLES, the BASTARD OF ORLEANS, ALÉNÇON,
 REIGNIER, and forces*

CHAR. Saint Denis bless this happy stratagem!
 And once again we 'll sleep secure in Rouen.

BAST. Here enter'd Pucelle and her practisants; 20
 Now she is there, how will she specify
 Where is the best and safest passage in?

REIGN. By thrusting out a torch from yonder tower;
 Which, once discern'd, shows that her meaning is,
 No way to that, for weakness, which she enter'd.

Enter LA PUCELLE on the top, thrusting out a torch burning

PUC. Behold, this is the happy wedding torch
 That joineth Rouen unto her countrymen,
 But burning fatal to the Talbotites! [*Exit.*]

BAST. See, noble Charles, the beacon of our friend;
 The burning torch in yonder turret stands. 30

CHAR. Now shine it like a comet of revenge,
 A prophet to the fall of all our foes!

20 *practisants*] plotters, conspirators; formed from "practice," which
 commonly meant "trick" or "stratagem."

25 *No way . . . enter'd*] No way is equal in weakness or lack of defence
 to that by which she entered.

REIGN. Defer no time, delays have dangerous ends;
Enter, and cry "The Dauphin!" presently,
And then do execution on the watch. [*Alarum. Exeunt.*]

An alarum. Enter TALBOT in an excursion

TAL. France, thou shalt rue this treason with thy
tears,
If Talbot but survive thy treachery.
Pucelle, that witch, that damned sorceress,
Hath wrought this hellish mischief unawares,
That hardly we escaped the pride of France. [*Exit.* ⁴⁰]

An alarum: excursions. BEDFORD, brought in sick in a chair.

Enter TALBOT and BURGUNDY without: within LA PUCELLE, CHARLES, BASTARD, ALENÇON, and REIGNIER, on the walls

PUC. Good morrow, gallants! want ye corn for bread?
I think the Duke of Burgundy will fast
Before he'll buy again at such a rate:
'T was full of darnel; do you like the taste?

BUR. Scoff on, vile fiend and shameless courtezan!
I trust ere long to choke thee with thine own,
And make thee curse the harvest of that corn.

CHAR. Your grace may starve perhaps before that
time.

⁴⁰ *pride*] haughty power. Cf. IV, vi, 15, *infra*: "The *pride* of Gallia."

⁴⁴ *darnel*] a coarse weed found in cornfields and reputed when eaten to produce dimness of sight. "Darnel," says Gerard in his *Herbal*, "hurteth the eyes and maketh them dim, if it happen either in corne for breade, or drinke."

BED. O, let no words, but deeds, revenge this
treason!

PUC. What will you do, good grey-beard? break a
lance, 50

And run a tilt at death within a chair?

TAL. Foul fiend of France, and hag of all despite,
Encompass'd with thy lustful paramours!
Becomes it thee to taunt his valiant age,
And twit with cowardice a man half dead?
Damsel, I 'll have a bout with you again,
Or else let Talbot perish with this shame.

PUC. Are ye so hot, sir? yet, Pucelle, hold thy peace;
If Talbot do but thunder, rain will follow.

[The English whisper together in council.]

God speed the parliament! who shall be the speaker? 60

TAL. Dare ye come forth and meet us in the field?

PUC. Belike your lordship takes us then for fools,
To try if that our own be ours or no.

TAL. I speak not to that railing Hecate,
But unto thee, Alençon, and the rest;
Will ye, like soldiers, come and fight it out?

ALEN. Signior, no.

TAL. Signior, hang! base muleters of France!
Like peasant foot-boys do they keep the walls,
And dare not take up arms like gentlemen. 70

PUC. Away, captains! let 's get us from the walls;
For Talbot means no goodness by his looks.

51 *run a tilt at . . . chair*] challenge death sitting down.

64 *Hecate*] A trisyllable. Wherever else Shakespeare uses the word, he makes it a dissyllable.

God be wi' you, my lord! we came but to tell you
That we are here. *[Exeunt from the walls.]*

TAL. And there will we be too, ere it be long,
Or else reproach be Talbot's greatest fame!
Vow, Burgundy, by honour of thy house,
Prick'd on by public wrongs sustain'd in France,
Either to get the town again or die:
And I, as sure as English Henry lives, 80
And as his father here was conqueror,
As sure as in this late-betrayed town
Great Cœur-de-lion's heart was buried,
So sure I swear to get the town or die.

BUR. My vows are equal partners with thy vows.

TAL. But, ere we go, regard this dying prince,
The valiant Duke of Bedford. Come, my lord,
We will bestow you in some better place,
Fitter for sickness and for crazy age. 90

BED. Lord Talbot, do not so dishonour me:
Here will I sit before the walls of Rouen
And will be partner of your weal or woe.

BUR. Courageous Bedford, let us now persuade
you.

BED. Not to be gone from hence; for once I read
That stout Pendragon in his litter sick
Came to the field and vanquished his foes:
Methinks I should revive the soldiers' hearts,
Because I ever found them as myself.

95-96 *Pendragon . . . foes*] Uther Pendragon, King Arthur's father,
according to Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, led his army to battle while
confined by sickness to a litter.

TAL. Undaunted spirit in a dying breast!
Then be it so: heavens keep old Bedford safe! 100
And now no more ado, brave Burgundy,
But gather we our forces out of hand
And set upon our boasting enemy.

[Exeunt all but Bedford and Attendants.]

*An alarm: excursions. Enter SIR JOHN FASTOLFE
and a Captain*

CAPT. Whither away, Sir John Fastolfe, in such
haste?

FAST. Whither away! to save myself by flight:
We are like to have the overthrow again.

CAP. What! will you fly, and leave Lord Talbot?

FAST. Ay,
All the Talbots in the world, to save my life. *[Exit.]*

CAP. Cowardly knight! ill fortune follow thee!
[Exit.]

*Retreat: excursions. LA PUCELLE, ALENÇON, and
CHARLES fly*

BED. Now, quiet soul, depart when heaven please, 110
For I have seen our enemies' overthrow.
What is the trust or strength of foolish man?
They that of late were daring with their scoffs
Are glad and fain by flight to save themselves.

[Bedford dies, and is carried in by two in his chair.]

110 *Now, quiet soul, depart]* There is no historic foundation for this account of the death of Bedford, who died peaceably at Rouen in September, 1435.

An alarm. Re-enter TALBOT, BURGUNDY, and the rest

TAL. Lost, and recover'd in a day again!
This is a double honour, Burgundy:
Yet heavens have glory for this victory!

BUR. Warlike and martial Talbot, Burgundy
Enshrines thee in his heart and there erects
Thy noble deeds as valour's monuments. 120

TAL. Thanks, gentle duke. But where is Pucelle now?
I think her old familiar is asleep:
Now where's the Bastard's braves, and Charles his
gleeks?

What, all amort? Rouen hangs her head for grief
That such a valiant company are fled.
Now will we take some order in the town,
Placing therein some expert officers,
And then depart to Paris to the king,
For there young Henry with his nobles lie.

BUR. What wills Lord Talbot pleaseth Burgundy. 130

TAL. But yet, before we go, let's not forget
The noble Duke of Bedford late deceased,
But see his exequies fulfill'd in Rouen:
A braver soldier never couched lance,
A gentler heart did never sway in court;
But kings and mightiest potentates must die,
For that's the end of human misery. [Exeunt.]

122 *familiar*] an evil spirit commonly in attendance on a witch.

123 *braves . . . gleeks*] boasts . . . scoffs.

124 *all amort*] downcast. See note on *T. of Shrew*, IV, iii, 36.

126 *take some order*] make some necessary dispositions.

133 *exequies*] obsequies. See note on line 110, *supra*.

SCENE III—THE PLAINS NEAR ROUEN

*Enter CHARLES, the BASTARD OF ORLEANS, ALENÇON, LA
PUCELLE, and forces*

PUC. Dismay not, princes, at this accident,
Nor grieve that Rouen is so recovered:
Care is no cure, but rather corrosive,
For things that are not to be remedied.
Let frantic Talbot triumph for a while
And like a peacock sweep along his tail;
We'll pull his plumes and take away his train,
If Dauphin and the rest will be but ruled.

CHAR. We have been guided by thee hitherto,
And of thy cunning had no diffidence:
One sudden foil shall never breed distrust.

10

BAST. Search out thy wit for secret policies,
And we will make thee famous through the world.

ALEN. We'll set thy statue in some holy place,
And have thee revered like a blessed saint:
Employ thee then, sweet virgin, for our good.

PUC. Then thus it must be; this doth Joan devise:
By fair persuasions mix'd with sugar'd words
We will entice the Duke of Burgundy
To leave the Talbot and to follow us.

20

CHAR. Ay, marry, sweeting, if we could do that,

1 *Dismay not*] Be not dismayed.

3 *corrosive*] irritant.

10 *of thy cunning . . . difference*] had no suspicion of thy skill.

11 *foil*] repulse. Cf. V, iii, 23, *infra*, "give the French the *foil*."

France were no place for Henry's warriors;
Nor should that nation boast it so with us,
But be extirped from our provinces.

ALEN. For ever should they be expulsed from France,
And not have title of an earldom here.

PUC. Your honours shall perceive how I will work
To bring this matter to the wished end.

[*Drum sounds afar off.*]

Hark! by the sound of drum you may perceive
Their powers are marching unto Paris-ward. 30

*Here sound an English march. Enter, and pass over
at a distance, TALBOT and his forces*

There goes the Talbot, with his colours spread,
And all the troops of English after him.

French march. Enter the DUKE OF BURGUNDY and forces

Now in the rearward comes the duke and his:
Fortune in favour makes him lag behind.
Summon a parley; we will talk with him.

[*Trumpets sound a parley.*]

CHAR. A parley with the Duke of Burgundy!

BUR. Who craves a parley with the Burgundy?

PUC. The princely Charles of France, thy country-
man.

BUR. What say'st thou, Charles? for I am marching
hence.

CHAR. Speak, Pucelle, and enchant him with thy
words. 40

PUC. Brave Burgundy, undoubted hope of France!
Stay, let thy humble handmaid speak to thee.

BUR. Speak on; but be not over-tedious.

PUC. Look on thy country, look on fertile France,
And see the cities and the towns defaced
By wasting ruin of the cruel foe.

As looks the mother on her lowly babe

When death doth close his tender dying eyes,

See, see the pining malady of France;

Behold the wounds, the most unnatural wounds,

50

Which thou thyself hast given her woful breast.

O, turn thy edged sword another way;

Strike those that hurt, and hurt not those that help.

One drop of blood drawn from thy country's bosom

Should grieve thee more than streams of foreign
gore:

Return thee therefore with a flood of tears,

And wash away thy country's stained spots.

BUR. Either she hath bewitch'd me with her words,
Or nature makes me suddenly relent.

PUC. Besides, all French and France exclaims on
thee,

60

Doubting thy birth and lawful progeny.

Who join'st thou with but with a lordly nation

41 *Brave Burgundy*] There is no historical foundation for any personal interview between Joan of Arc and the Duke of Burgundy, though the Maid appealed to the Duke by letter to forsake the English alliance, a request which he at the time ignored.

47 *lowly*] in a low state of vitality, enfeebled by starvation.

62 *lordly*] haughty, imperious.

That will not trust thee but for profit's sake?
 When Talbot hath set footing once in France
 And fashion'd thee that instrument of ill,
 Who then but English Henry will be lord,
 And thou be thrust out like a fugitive?
 Call we to mind, and mark but this for proof,
 Was not the Duke of Orleans thy foe?
 And was he not in England prisoner?
 But when they heard he was thine enemy,
 They set him free without his ransom paid,
 In spite of Burgundy and all his friends.
 See, then, thou fight'st against thy countrymen
 And join'st with them will be thy slaughter-men.
 Come, come, return; return, thou wandering lord;
 Charles and the rest will take thee in their arms.

70

BUR. I am vanquished; these haughty words of
 hers
 Have batter'd me like roaring cannon-shot,
 And made me almost yield upon my knees.
 Forgive me, country, and sweet countrymen,
 And, lords, accept this hearty kind embrace:
 My forces and my power of men are yours:
 So farewell, Talbot; I'll no longer trust thee.

80

72 *They set him free*] This is an historical error. The Duke of Orleans was not released by his English gaolers till long after the events mentioned in the text. He was set free in 1440, at least five years after the Duke of Burgundy abandoned the English alliance.

75 *slaughter-men*] slaughterers.

78 *haughty*] high-spirited, a rare usage. Cf. IV, i, 35, *infra*, "*haughty* courage."

THE FIRST PART OF

ACT III

PUC. [*Aside*] Done like a Frenchman: turn, and turn again!

CHAR. Welcome, brave duke! thy friendship makes us fresh.

BAST. And doth beget new courage in our breasts.

ALEN. Pucelle hath bravely play'd her part in this, And doth deserve a coronet of gold.

CHAR. Now let us on, my lords, and join our powers,⁹⁰ And seek how we may prejudice the foe. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV — PARIS

THE PALACE

Enter the KING, GLOUCESTER, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, YORK, SUFFOLK, SOMERSET, WARWICK, EXETER: VERNON, BASSET, and others. To them with his Soldiers, TALBOT

TAL. My gracious prince, and honourable peers,
Hearing of your arrival in this realm,
I have awhile given truce unto my wars,
To do my duty to my sovereign:
In sign whereof, this arm, that hath reclaim'd
To your obedience fifty fortresses,
Twelve cities and seven walled towns of strength,
Beside five hundred prisoners of esteem,
Lets fall his sword before your highness' feet,
And with submissive loyalty of heart

10

⁸⁵ *Done . . . again*] A feeble sneer at the alleged fickleness of Frenchmen. Cf. IV, i, 138, *infra*: "France, . . . a fickle wavering nation."

Ascribes the glory of his conquest got
First to my God and next unto your grace. [Kneels.]

KING. Is this the Lord Talbot, uncle Gloucester,
That hath so long been resident in France?

GLOU. Yes, if it please your majesty, my liege.

KING. Welcome, brave captain and victorious lord!
When I was young, as yet I am not old,
I do remember how my father said
A stouter champion never handled sword.
Long since we were resolved of your truth, 20
Your faithful service and your toil in war;
Yet never have you tasted our reward,
Or been reguerdon'd with so much as thanks,
Because till now we never saw your face:
Therefore, stand up; and, for these good deserts,
We here create you Earl of Shrewsbury;
And in our coronation take your place.

[Sennet. Flourish. Exeunt all but Vernon and Basset.]

VER. Now, sir, to you, that were so hot at sea,
Disgracing of these colours that I wear
In honour of my noble Lord of York: — 30
Darest thou maintain the former words thou spakest?

BAS. Yes, sir; as well as you dare patronage
The envious barking of your saucy tongue
Against my lord the Duke of Somerset.

17 *When I was young*] Henry VI was only nine months old at his father's death. Hence there is no historical foundation for this reminiscence.

20 *resolved*] convinced.

23 *reguerdon'd*] rewarded. See III, i, 170, *supra*.

29 *these colours*] the badge of the red rose.

FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI ACT III

VER. Sirrah, thy lord I honour as he is.

BAS. Why, what is he? as good a man as York.

VER. Hark ye; not so: in witness, take ye that.

[*Strikes him.*]

BAS. Villain, thou know'st the law of arms is such
That whoso draws a sword, 't is present death,
Or else this blow should broach thy dearest blood. 40
But I 'll unto his majesty, and crave
I may have liberty to venge this wrong;
When thou shalt see I 'll meet thee to thy cost.

VER. Well, miscreant, I 'll be there as soon as you;
And, after, meet you sooner than you would. [*Exeunt.*]

39 *whoso draws a sword*] *sc.* in the palace of a king. Cf. IV, i, 78, *infra*.

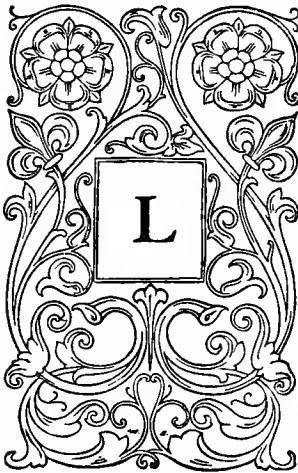


ACT FOURTH—SCENE I—PARIS

A HALL OF STATE

Enter the KING, GLOUCESTER, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, YORK, SUFFOLK, SOMERSET, WARWICK, TALBOT, EXETER, the Governor of Paris, and others

GLOUCESTER



ORD BISHOP, SET THE crown upon his head.

WIN. God save King Henry, of that name the sixth!

GLOU. Now, governor of Paris, take your oath, That you elect no other king but him;

Esteem none friends but such as are his friends,
And none your foes but such as shall pretend
Malicious practices against his state:

This shall ye do, so help you righteous God!

Enter SIR JOHN FASTOLFE

FAST. My gracious sovereign, as I rode from Calais,
To haste unto your coronation,

10

A letter was deliver'd to my hands,
Writ to your grace from the Duke of Burgundy.

TAL. Shame to the Duke of Burgundy and thee!

I vow'd, base knight, when I did meet thee next,
To tear the garter from thy craven's leg, [*Plucking it off.*

Which I have done, because unworthily

Thou wast installed in that high degree.

Pardon me, princely Henry, and the rest:

This dastard, at the battle of Patay,

When but in all I was six thousand strong

20

And that the French were almost ten to one,

Before we met or that a stroke was given,

Like to a trusty squire did run away:

In which assault we lost twelve hundred men;

Myself and divers gentlemen beside

Were there surprised and taken prisoners.

Then judge, great lords, if I have done amiss;

Or whether that such cowards ought to wear

This ornament of knighthood, yea or no.

GLOU. To say the truth, this fact was infamous

30

And ill beseeeming any common man,

Much more a knight, a captain and a leader.

TAL. When first this order was ordain'd, my lords,

Knights of the garter were of noble birth,

Valiant and virtuous, full of haughty courage,

6-7 *pretend Malicious practices*] intend or purpose wicked plots.

19 *Patay*] Malone's necessary correction of the Folio reading *Poictiers*.

Cf. I, i, 130-134, *supra*.

30 *fact*] deed (in a bad sense), crime.

35 *haughty*] high-spirited. Cf. III, iii, 78, *supra*: "*haughty words*."

Such as were grown to credit by the wars;
 Not fearing death, nor shrinking for distress,
 But always resolute in most extremes.
 He then that is not furnish'd in this sort
 Doth but usurp the sacred name of knight, 40
 Profaning this most honourable order,
 And should, if I were worthy to be judge,
 Be quite degraded, like a hedge-born swain
 That doth presume to boast of gentle blood.

KING. Stain to thy countrymen, thou hear'st thy doom!
 Be packing, therefore, thou that wast a knight:
 Henceforth we banish thee, on pain of death.

[*Exit Fastolfe.*]

And now, my lord protector, view the letter
 Sent from our uncle Duke of Burgundy.

GLOU. What means his grace, that he hath changed
 his style? 50

No more but, plain and bluntly, "To the king!"
 Hath he forgot he is his sovereign?
 Or doth this churlish superscription
 Pretend some alteration in good will?
 What 's here? [*Reads*] "I have, upon especial cause,
 Moved with compassion of my country's wreck,
 Together with the pitiful complaints
 Of such as your oppression feeds upon,
 Forsaken your pernicious faction,
 And join'd with Charles, the rightful King of France." 60

38 *most extremes*] utmost extremities of danger.

45 *Stain*] Disgrace, discredit.

54 *Pretend*] Intend, as at line 6, *supra*.

O monstrous treachery! can this be so,

That in alliance, amity and oaths,

There should be found such false dissembling guile?

KING. What! doth my uncle Burgundy revolt?

GLOU. He doth, my lord, and is become your foe.

KING. Is that the worst this letter doth contain?

GLOU. It is the worst, and all, my lord, he writes.

KING. Why, then, Lord Talbot there shall talk with him,

And give him chastisement for this abuse.

How say you, my lord? are you not content? 70

TAL. Content, my liege! yes, but that I am prevented,

I should have begg'd I might have been employ'd.

KING. Then gather strength, and march unto him straight:

Let him perceive how ill we brook his treason,

And what offence it is to flout his friends.

TAL. I go, my lord, in heart desiring still
You may behold confusion of your foes. [Exit.

Enter VERNON and BASSET

VER. Grant me the combat, gracious sovereign.

BAS. And me, my lord, grant me the combat too.

YORK. This is my servant: hear him, noble prince. 80

SOM. And this is mine: sweet Henry, favour him.

KING. Be patient, lords; and give them leave to speak.

78 *the combat*] the right of challenge to single combat in the precincts of the court. Cf. III, iv, 39, *supra*.

Say, gentlemen, what makes you thus exclaim?

And wherefore crave you combat? or with whom?

VER. With him, my lord; for he hath done me wrong.

BAS. And I with him; for he hath done me wrong.

KING. What is that wrong whereof you both complain?

First let me know, and then I'll answer you.

BAS. Crossing the sea from England into France,
 This fellow here, with envious carping tongue, 90
 Upbraided me about the rose I wear;
 Saying, the sanguine colour of the leaves
 Did represent my master's blushing cheeks,
 When stubbornly he did repugn the truth
 About a certain question in the law
 Argued betwixt the Duke of York and him;
 With other vile and ignominious terms:
 In confutation of which rude reproach,
 And in defence of my lord's worthiness,
 I crave the benefit of law of arms. 100

VER. And that is my petition, noble lord:
 For though he seem with forged quaint conceit
 To set a gloss upon his bold intent,
 Yet know, my lord, I was provoked by him;
 And he first took exceptions at this badge,
 Pronouncing that the paleness of this flower
 Bewray'd the faintness of my master's heart.

92 *sanguine colour*] colour of blood.

94 *repugn*] resist, oppose.

102-103 *with forged . . . gloss upon*] with ingeniously fabricated argument to give a plausibility to.

YORK. Will not this malice, Somerset, be left?

SOM. Your private grudge, my Lord of York, will out,
Though ne'er so cunningly you smother it. 110

KING. Good Lord, what madness rules in brainsick
men,

When for so slight and frivolous a cause
Such factious emulations shall arise!
Good cousins both, of York and Somerset,
Quiet yourselves, I pray, and be at peace.

YORK. Let this dissension first be tried by fight,
And then your highness shall command a peace.

SOM. The quarrel toucheth none but us alone;
Betwixt ourselves let us decide it then.

YORK. There is my pledge; accept it, Somerset. 120

VER. Nay, let it rest where it began at first.

BAS. Confirm it so, mine honourable lord.

GLOU. Confirm it so! Confounded be your strife!
And perish ye, with your audacious prate!

Presumptuous vassals, are you not ashamed
With this immodest clamorous outrage
To trouble and disturb the king and us?

And you, my lords, methinks you do not well
To bear with their perverse objections;

Much less to take occasion from their mouths 130
To raise a mutiny betwixt yourselves:

Let me persuade you take a better course.

EXE. It grieves his highness: good my lords, be
friends.

KING. Come hither, you that would be combatants:
Henceforth I charge you, as you love our favour,
Quite to forget this quarrel and the cause.

And you, my lords, remember where we are;
 In France, amongst a fickle wavering nation:
 If they perceive dissension in our looks
 And that within ourselves we disagree, 140
 How will their grudging stomachs be provoked
 To wilful disobedience, and rebel!
 Beside, what infamy will there arise,
 When foreign princes shall be certified
 That for a toy, a thing of no regard,
 King Henry's peers and chief nobility
 Destroy'd themselves, and lost the realm of France!
 O, think upon the conquest of my father,
 My tender years, and let us not forgo
 That for a trifle that was bought with blood! 150
 Let me be umpire in this doubtful strife.
 I see no reason, if I wear this rose, [*Putting on a red rose.*
 That any one should therefore be suspicious
 I more incline to Somerset than York:
 Both are my kinsmen, and I love them both:
 As well they may upbraid me with my crown,
 Because, forsooth, the king of Scots is crown'd.
 But your discretions better can persuade
 Than I am able to instruct or teach:
 And therefore, as we hither came in peace, 160
 So let us still continue peace and love.
 Cousin of York, we institute your grace
 To be our regent in these parts of France:

138 *fickle . . . nation*] Cf. III, iii, 85, *supra*.

141 *grudging stomachs*] spirits bearing grudge, hearts or minds prone to disparagement.

And, good my Lord of Somerset, unite
 Your troops of horsemen with his bands of foot;
 And, like true subjects, sons of your progenitors,
 Go cheerfully together and digest
 Your angry choler on your enemies.
 Ourself, my lord protector and the rest
 After some respite will return to Calais; 170
 From thence to England; where I hope ere long
 To be presented, by your victories,
 With Charles, Alençon and that traitorous rout.

[*Flourish. Exeunt all but York, Warwick,
 Exeter and Vernon.*]

WAR. My Lord of York, I promise you, the king
 Prettily, methought, did play the orator.

YORK. And so he did; but yet I like it not,
 In that he wears the badge of Somerset.

WAR. Tush, that was but his fancy, blame him not;
 I dare presume, sweet prince, he thought no harm.

YORK. An if I wist he did, — but let it rest; 180
 Other affairs must now be managed.

[*Exeunt all but Exeter.*]

EXE. Well didst thou, Richard, to suppress thy voice;
 For, had the passions of thy heart burst out,
 I fear we should have seen decipher'd there
 More rancorous spite, more furious raging broils,

167 *digest*] vent, void, discharge.

180 *An if I wist*] Capell's emendation of the Folio *And if I wish*. York would seem to mean that if he knew anything at all, the King did think harm. "Wist" is the preterite of the verb "to wit," "to know."

Than yet can be imagined or supposed.
 But howsoe'er, no simple man that sees
 This jarring discord of nobility,
 This shouldering of each other in the court,
 This factious bandying of their favourites, 190
 But that it doth presage some ill event.
 'T is much when sceptres are in children's hands;
 But more when envy breeds unkind division;
 There comes the ruin, there begins confusion. [Exit.

SCENE II—BEFORE BOURDEAUX

Enter TALBOT, with trump and drum

TAL. Go to the gates of Bourdeaux, trumpeter;
 Summon their general unto the wall.

Trumpet sounds. Enter General and others, aloft

English John Talbot, captains, calls you forth,
 Servant in arms to Harry King of England;
 And thus he would: Open your city-gates;
 Be humble to us; call my sovereign yours,
 And do him homage as obedient subjects;
 And I 'll withdraw me and my bloody power:
 But, if you frown upon this proffer'd peace,
 You tempt the fury of my three attendants, 10

191 *But that it doth presage*] But sees or perceives that it doth presage.

An elliptical construction depending on line 187.

193 *envy . . . division*] malice or enmity breeds unnatural strife.

10-11 *three attendants . . . fire*] Cf. *Hen. V*, Prol. to Act I, 6-8: "at his
[i. e., Mars's] heels, Leash'd in like hounds, should *famine, sword*

Lean famine, quartering steel, and climbing fire;
 Who in a moment even with the earth
 Shall lay your stately and air-braving towers,
 If you forsake the offer of their love.

GEN. Thou ominous and fearful owl of death,
 Our nation's terror and their bloody scourge!
 The period of thy tyranny approacheth.
 On us thou canst not enter but by death;
 For, I protest, we are well fortified

And strong enough to issue out and fight: 20

If thou retire, the Dauphin, well appointed,
 Stands with the snares of war to tangle thee:
 On either hand thee there are squadrons pitch'd,
 To wall thee from the liberty of flight;
 And no way canst thou turn thee for redress,
 But death doth front thee with apparent spoil,
 And pale destruction meets thee in the face.

Ten thousand French have ta'en the sacrament
 To rive their dangerous artillery

Upon no Christian soul but English Talbot. 30

Lo, there thou stand'st, a breathing valiant man,
 Of an invincible unconquer'd spirit!

This is the latest glory of thy praise

and fire Crouch for employment." Holinshed, following Hall, makes Henry V remark that "Bellona had *three handmaidens*, ever of necessity attending upon her, as *blood, fire and famine*."

15 *owl of death*] the cry of the owl was commonly thought to forebode death. Cf. *Macb.*, II, ii, 3: "It was the *owl* that shriek'd, the *fatal* bellman."

26 *apparent spoil*] obvious ruin. Cf. IV, v, 44, *infra*.

29 *rive*] discharge with violence.

That I, thy enemy, due thee withal;
 For ere the glass, that now begins to run,
 Finish the process of his sandy hour,
 These eyes, that see thee now well coloured,
 Shall see thee wither'd, bloody, pale and dead.

[*Drum afar off.*

Hark! hark! the Dauphin's drum, a warning bell,
 Sings heavy music to thy timorous soul;
 And mine shall ring thy dire departure out.

40

[*Exeunt General, &c.*

TAL. He fables not; I hear the enemy:
 Out, some light horsemen, and peruse their wings.
 O, negligent and heedless discipline!
 How are we park'd and bounded in a pale,
 A little herd of England's timorous deer,
 Mazed with a yelping kennel of French curs!
 If we be English deer, be then in blood;
 Not rascal-like, to fall down with a pinch,
 But rather, moody-mad and desperate stags,
 Turn on the bloody hounds with heads of steel
 And make the cowards stand aloof at bay:
 Sell every man his life as dear as mine,

50

34 *due thee*] give thee thy due. The suggestion that "due" is an abbreviation of "endue" makes poor sense.

45 *park'd . . . pale*] enclosed and fenced in.

47 *Mazed*] Bewildered, as in a maze. Cf. *Mids. N. Dr.*, II, ii, 54: "the mazed world."

48 *English deer . . . blood*] Cf. *L. L. L.*, IV, ii, 3: "The *deer* was, as you know, sanguis, *in blood*," *i. e.*, in good condition.

49 *rascal-like*] See note on I, ii, 35, *supra*.

And they shall find dear deer of us, my friends.
God and Saint George, Talbot and England's right,
Prosper our colours in this dangerous fight! [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III—PLAINS IN GASCONY

Enter a Messenger that meets YORK. Enter YORK with trumpet and many Soldiers

YORK. Are not the speedy scouts return'd again,
That dogg'd the mighty army of the Dauphin?

MESS. They are return'd, my lord, and give it out
That he is march'd to Bourdeaux with his power,
To fight with Talbot: as he march'd along,
By your espials were discovered
Two mightier troops than that the Dauphin led,
Which join'd with him and made their march for Bour-
deaux.

YORK. A plague upon that villain Somerset,
That thus delays my promised supply
Of horsemen, that were levied for this siege!
Renowned Talbot doth expect my aid,
And I am lowted by a traitor villain,
And cannot help the noble chevalier:
God comfort him in this necessity!
If he miscarry, farewell wars in France.

10

13 *lowted*] Thus the Folios; treated like a lout, befooled.

Enter Sir WILLIAM LUCY

LUCY. Thou princely leader of our English strength,
Never so needful on the earth of France,
Spur to the rescue of the noble Talbot,
Who now is girdled with a waist of iron, 20
And hemm'd about with grim destruction:
To Bourdeaux, warlike duke! to Bourdeaux, York!
Else, farewell Talbot, France, and England's honour. —

YORK. O God, that Somerset, who in proud heart
Doth stop my cornets, were in Talbot's place!
So should we save a valiant gentleman
By forfeiting a traitor and a coward.
Mad ire and wrathful fury makes me weep,
That thus we die, while remiss traitors sleep.

LUCY. O, send some succour to the distress'd lord! 30

YORK. He dies, we lose; I break my warlike word;
We mourn, France smiles; we lose, they daily get;
All 'long of this vile traitor Somerset.

LUCY. Then God take mercy on brave Talbot's soul;
And on his son young John, who two hours since
I met in travel toward his warlike father!
This seven years did not Talbot see his son;
And now they meet where both their lives are done.

YORK. Alas, what joy shall noble Talbot have
To bid his young son welcome to his grave? 40

17 *Lucy*] The Folios give the preceding stage direction as *Enter another messenger*, and assign this and following speeches to *Mes.* But the next scene distinctly states that the messenger was Sir William Lucy. Hence the change, which Theobald first suggested.

Away! vexation almost stops my breath,
 That sunder'd friends greet in the hour of death.
 Lucy, farewell: no more my fortune can,
 But curse the cause I cannot aid the man.
 Maine, Blois, Poitiers, and Tours, are won away,
 'Long all of Somerset and his delay. [*Exit, with his soldiers.*]

LUCY. Thus, while the vulture of sedition
 Feeds in the bosom of such great commanders,
 Sleeping neglectation doth betray to loss
 The conquest of our scarce cold conqueror, 50
 That ever living man of memory,
 Henry the Fifth: whiles they each other cross,
 Lives, honours, lands and all hurry to loss. [*Exit.*]

SCENE IV—OTHER PLAINS IN GASCONY

*Enter SOMERSET with his army; a Captain of TALBOT'S
 with him*

SOM. It is too late; I cannot send them now:
 This expedition was by York and Talbot
 Too rashly plotted: all our general force
 Might with a sally of the very town

43 *no more . . . can*] my luck lets me do no more.

47 *the vulture of sedition*] doubtless an allusion to the story of Prometheus, on whose bosom an eagle or vulture fed, while he was chained to a rock.

51 *ever living man of memory*] man of ever-living memory. For the epithet cf. "our *ever-living* poet" in the publisher T[homas] T[horpe]'s dedication of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, 1609.

Be buckled with: the over-daring Talbot
 Hath sullied all his gloss of former honour
 By this unheedful, desperate, wild adventure:
 York set him on to fight and die in shame,
 That, Talbot dead, great York might bear the name.

CAP. Here is Sir William Lucy, who with me 10
 Set from our o'er-match'd forces forth for aid.

Enter Sir WILLIAM LUCY

SOM. How now, Sir William! whither were you sent?

LUCY. Whither, my lord? from bought and sold Lord
 Talbot;

Who, ring'd about with bold adversity,
 Cries out for noble York and Somerset,
 To beat assailing death from his weak legions:
 And whiles the honourable captain there
 Drops bloody sweat from his war-wearied limbs,
 And, in advantage lingering, looks for rescue,
 You, his false hopes, the trust of England's honour, 20
 Keep off aloof with worthless emulation.
 Let not your private discord keep away
 The levied succours that should lend him aid,
 While he, renowned noble gentleman,
 Yields up his life unto a world of odds:
 Orleans the Bastard, Charles, Burgundy,

5 *buckled*] See note on I, ii, 95, *supra*.

13 *bought and sold*] betrayed, utterly ruined.

19 *in advantage lingering*] Johnson explains, "protracting his resistance by the advantage of a strong post." But Talbot's only advantage seemed to lie in being just able to hold his ground long enough to await relief.

21 *with worthless emulation*] in your contemptible envious rivalry.

Alençon, Reignier, compass him about,
And Talbot perisheth by your default.

SOM. York set him on; York should have sent him aid.

LUCY. And York as fast upon your grace exclaims; ³⁰
Swearing that you withhold his levied host,
Collected for this expedition.

SOM. York lies; he might have sent and had the horse:
I owe him little duty, and less love;
And take foul scorn to fawn on him by sending.

LUCY. The fraud of England, not the force of France,
Hath now entrapp'd the noble-minded Talbot:
Never to England shall he bear his life;
But dies, betray'd to fortune by your strife.

SOM. Come, go; I will dispatch the horsemen
straight: 40

Within six hours they will be at his aid.

LUCY. Too late comes rescue: he is ta'en or slain;
For fly he could not, if he would have fled;
And fly would Talbot never, though he might.

SOM. If he be dead, brave Talbot, then adieu!

LUCY. His fame lives in the world, his shame in you.
[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE V—THE ENGLISH CAMP NEAR
BOURDEAUX

Enter TALBOT and JOHN his son

TAL. O young John Talbot! I did send for thee
To tutor thee in stratagems of war,

³⁵ *take [foul scorn]* scorn as a foul disgrace.

That Talbot's name might be in thee revived,
 When sapless age and weak unable limbs
 Should bring thy father to his drooping chair.
 But, O malignant and ill-boding stars!
 Now thou art come unto a feast of death,
 A terrible and unavowed danger:
 Therefore, dear boy, mount on my swiftest horse;
 And I'll direct thee how thou shalt escape 10
 By sudden flight: come, dally not, be gone.

JOHN. Is my name Talbot? and am I your son?
 And shall I fly? O, if you love my mother,
 Dishonour not her honourable name,
 To make a bastard and a slave of me!
 The world will say, he is not Talbot's blood,
 That basely fled when noble Talbot stood.

TAL. Fly, to revenge my death, if I be slain.

JOHN. He that flies so will ne'er return again.

TAL. If we both stay, we both are sure to die. 20

JOHN. Then let me stay; and, father, do you fly:
 Your loss is great, so your regard should be;
 My worth unknown, no loss is known in me.
 Upon my death the French can little boast;
 In yours they will, in you all hopes are lost.
 Flight cannot stain the honour you have won;
 But mine it will, that no exploit have done:

5 *drooping chair*] chair of declining years. Cf. 2 *Hen. VI*, V, ii, 48:

"thy *chair* days," i. e., thy old age.

8 *unavowed*] unavoidable.

22 *your regard*] care of yourself.

You fled for vantage, every one will swear;
 But, if I bow, they 'll say it was for fear.
 There is no hope that ever I will stay, 30
 If the first hour I shrink and run away.
 Here on my knee I beg mortality,
 Rather than life preserved with infamy.
 TAL. Shall all thy mother's hopes lie in one tomb?
 JOHN. Ay, rather than I'll shame my mother's womb.
 TAL. Upon my blessing, I command thee go.
 JOHN. To fight I will, but not to fly the foe.
 TAL. Part of thy father may be saved in thee.
 JOHN. No part of him but will be shame in me.
 TAL. Thou never hadst renown, nor canst not lose it. 40
 JOHN. Yes, your renowned name: shall flight abuse it?
 TAL. Thy father's charge shall clear thee from that
 stain.
 JOHN. You cannot witness for me, being slain.
 If death be so apparent, then both fly.
 TAL. And leave my followers here to fight and die?
 My age was never tainted with such shame.
 JOHN. And shall my youth be guilty of such blame?
 No more can I be sever'd from your side,
 Than can yourself yourself in twain divide:
 Stay, go, do what you will, the like do I; 50
 For live I will not, if my father die.

28 *for vantage*] to gain a strategic advantage in the fight.

29 *bow*] bend, yield. The word is twice used thus in the *Sonnets* (xc, 3, and cxx, 3).

44 *apparent*] obvious, evident. Cf. IV, ii, 26, *supra*.

TAL. Then here I take my leave of thee, fair son,
Born to eclipse thy life this afternoon.
Come, side by side together live and die;
And soul with soul from France to heaven fly. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE VI—A FIELD OF BATTLE

*Alarum: excursions, wherein TALBOT'S Son is hemmed about,
and TALBOT rescues him*

TAL. Saint George and victory! fight, soldiers, fight:
The regent hath with Talbot broke his word,
And left us to the rage of France his sword.
Where is John Talbot? Pause, and take thy breath;
I gave thee life and rescued thee from death.

JOHN. O, twice my father, twice am I thy son!
The life thou gavest me first was lost and done,
Till with thy warlike sword, despite of fate,
To my determined time thou gavest new date.

TAL. When from the Dauphin's crest thy sword
struck fire, 10
It warm'd thy father's heart with proud desire
Of bold-faced victory. Then leaden age,

52 *fair son*] apparently Talbot plays at this inappropriate moment on the words "son" and "sun": hence the *eclipse* of his son's life in the next line.

3 *France his sword*] the sword of the King of France. For this common form of the genitival inflexion cf. I, ii, 1, *supra*, and note.

9 *my determined time*] the fixed limit of my life.

Quicken'd with youthful spleen and warlike rage,
Beat down Alençon, Orleans, Burgundy,
And from the pride of Gallia rescued thee.
The ireful bastard Orleans, that drew blood
From thee, my boy, and had the maidenhood
Of thy first fight, I soon encountered,
And interchanging blows I quickly shed
Some of his bastard blood; and in disgrace 20
Bespoke him thus; "Contaminated base
And misbegotten blood I spill of thine,
Mean and right poor, for that pure blood of mine,
Which thou didst force from Talbot, my brave
boy:"

Here, purposing the Bastard to destroy,
Came in strong rescue. Speak, thy father's care,
Art thou not weary, John? how dost thou fare?
Wilt thou yet leave the battle, boy, and fly,
Now thou art seal'd the son of chivalry?
Fly, to revenge my death when I am dead: 30
The help of one stands me in little stead.
O, too much folly is it, well I wot,
To hazard all our lives in one small boat!
If I to-day die not with Frenchmen's rage,
To-morrow I shall die with mickle age:
By me they nothing gain an if I stay;
'T is but the shortening of my life one day:
In thee thy mother dies, our household's name,
My death's revenge, thy youth, and England's fame:

13 *spleen*] ardour, impetuosity.

15 *the pride*] haughty power. Cf. III, ii, 40: "the *pride* of France."

All these and more we hazard by thy stay; 40
 All these are saved if thou wilt fly away.

JOHN. The sword of Orleans hath not made me
 smart;

These words of yours draw life-blood from my heart:
 On that advantage, bought with such a shame,
 To save a paltry life and slay bright fame,
 Before young Talbot from old Talbot fly,
 The coward horse that bears me fall and die!
 And like me to the peasant boys of France,
 To be shame's scorn and subject of mischance!
 Surely, by all the glory you have won, 50
 An if I fly, I am not Talbot's son:
 Then talk no more of flight, it is no boot;
 If son to Talbot, die at Talbot's foot.

TAL. Then follow thou thy desperate sire of Crete,
 Thou Icarus; thy life to me is sweet:
 If thou wilt fight, fight by thy father's side;
 And, commendable proved, let's die in pride. [*Exeunt.*]

44-47 *On that advantage . . . die*] Before I obtain that advantage (of continuing our household's name, cf. line 38, *supra*) at the price of so shameless an act as to preserve my paltry life and leave my father of glorious fame to die, I wish my horse may fall dead under me.

48 *like me to*] liken me to, compare me to, treat me on the same level as.

52 *it is no boot*] it is no use.

55 *Icarus*] This mythical hero, son of Dædalus of Crete, was taught by his father to fly with wings of wax, but, falling into the sea, was drowned. Cf. *3 Hen. VI*, V, vi, 18-21: "what a peevish fool was that of Crete, That taught his son the office of a fowl! And yet, for all his wings, the fool was drown'd. I, Dædalus; my poor boy, Icarus."

SCENE VII—ANOTHER PART OF THE FIELD

Alarum: excursions. Enter old TALBOT led by a Servant

TAL. Where is my other life? mine own is gone;
 O, where 's young Talbot? where is valiant John?
 Triumphant death, smear'd with captivity,
 Young Talbot's valour makes me smile at thee:
 When he perceived me shrink and on my knee,
 His bloody sword he brandish'd over me,
 And, like a hungry lion, did commence
 Rough deeds of rage and stern impatience;
 But when my angry guardant stood alone,
 Tendering my ruin and assail'd of none,
 Dizzy-eyed fury and great rage of heart
 Suddenly made him from my side to start
 Into the clustering battle of the French;
 And in that sea of blood my boy did drench
 His over-mounting spirit, and there died,
 My Icarus, my blossom, in his pride.

10

SERV. O my dear lord, lo, where your son is
 borne!

3 *Triumphant death . . . captivity*] The line suggests that a warrior's death in captivity — a possible fate which Talbot and his son are spared — is smeared or stained with dishonour, but death in fight on the battle-field, which both the speaker and his son experience, is an unalloyed triumph.

10 *Tendering my ruin*] Showing me tenderness in my fall. Cf. *2 Hen. VI*, III, i, 277: "I tender so the safety of my liege."

Enter Soldiers, with the body of young TALBOT

TAL. Thou antic death, which laugh'st us here to
 scorn,
 Anon, from thy insulting tyranny,
 Coupled in bonds of perpetuity, 20
 Two Talbots, winged through the lither sky,
 In thy despite shall 'scape mortality.
 O thou, whose wounds become hard-favour'd death,
 Speak to thy father ere thou yield thy breath!
 Brave death by speaking, whether he will or no;
 Imagine him a Frenchman and thy foe.
 Poor boy! he smiles, methinks, as who should say,
 Had death been French, then death had died to-day.
 Come, come and lay him in his father's arms:
 My spirit can no longer bear these harms. 30
 Soldiers, adieu! I have what I would have,
 Now my old arms are young John Talbot's grave. [*Dies.*]

*Enter CHARLES, ALLENÇON, BURGUNDY, BASTARD, LA PUCELLE,
 and forces*

CHAR. Had York and Somerset brought rescue in,
 We should have found a bloody day of this.

18 *antic*] jester, fool, buffoon. Death is often figured as a grinning skeleton. Cf. *Rich. II*, III, ii, 162: "and there the *antic* [*i. e.*, Death] sits."

21 *lither*] soft, pliant. "*Lither* air" is found more than once in Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1565). See Books VIII and XIV.

BAST. How the young whelp of Talbot's, raging-wood,
 Did flesh his puny sword in Frenchmen's blood!
 PUC. Once I encounter'd him, and thus I said:
 "Thou maiden youth, be vanquish'd by a maid:"
 But, with a proud majestic high scorn,
 He answer'd thus: "Young Talbot was not born 40
 To be the pillage of a giglot wench:"
 So, rushing in the bowels of the French,
 He left me proudly, as unworthy fight.
 BUR. Doubtless he would have made a noble knight:
 See, where he lies inhearsed in the arms
 Of the most bloody nurser of his harms!
 BAST. Hew them to pieces, hack their bones asunder,
 Whose life was England's glory, Gallia's wonder.
 CHAR. O, no, forbear! for that which we have fled
 During the life, let us not wrong it dead. 50

*Enter Sir WILLIAM LUCY, attended; Herald of the French
 preceding*

LUCY. Herald, conduct me to the Dauphin's tent,
 To know who hath obtain'd the glory of the day.
 CHAR. On what submissive message art thou sent?

35 *raging-wood*] raving-mad.

41 *the pillage of a giglot wench*] the spoil of a giddy wanton hussy.

42 *bowels of the French*] centre of the French army. Cf. Kyd's *Ieronimo*,
 "in the battle's bowels."

46 *nurser of his harms*] Cf. *Mach.*, III, v, 7: "The close contriver of
 all harms."

LUCY. Submission, Dauphin! 't is a mere French word;

We English warriors wot not what it means.

I come to know what prisoners thou hast ta'en,

And to survey the bodies of the dead.

CHAR. For prisoners ask'st thou? hell our prison is.
But tell me whom thou seek'st.

LUCY. But where 's the great Alcides of the field, 60
Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury,
Created, for his rare success in arms,
Great Earl of Washford, Waterford and Valence;
Lord Talbot of Goodrig and Urchinfield,
Lord Strange of Blackmere, Lord Verdun of Alton,
Lord Cromwell of Wingfield, Lord Furnival of Shef-
field,

The thrice-victorious Lord of Falconbridge;

Knight of the noble order of Saint George,

Worthy Saint Michael and the Golden Fleece;

Great Marshal to Henry the Sixth 70

Of all his wars within the realm of France?

PUC. Here is a silly stately style indeed!

The Turk, that two and fifty kingdoms hath,

Writes not so tedious a style as this.

Him that thou magnifiest with all these titles

Stinking and fly-blown lies here at our feet.

LUCY. Is Talbot slain, the Frenchmen's only scourge,
Your kingdom's terror and black Nemesis?

O, were mine eye-balls into bullets turn'd,

That I in rage might shoot them at your faces! 80

63 *Washford*] Wexford.

FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI ACT IV

O, that I could but call these dead to life!
It were enough to fright the realm of France:
Were but his picture left amongst you here,
It would amaze the proudest of you all.
Give me their bodies, that I may bear them hence
And give them burial as beseems their worth.

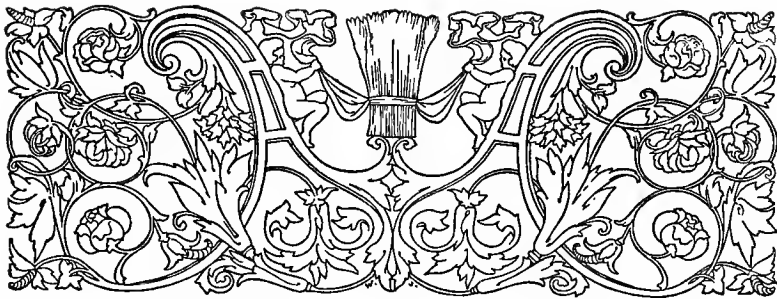
PUC. I think this upstart is old Talbot's ghost,
He speaks with such a proud commanding spirit.
For God's sake, let him have 'em; to keep them here,
They would but stink, and putrefy the air. 90

CHAR. Go, take their bodies hence.

LUCY. I'll bear them hence; but from their ashes
 shall be rear'd
A phoenix that shall make all France afeard.

CHAR. So we be rid of them, do with 'em what thou
 wilt.

And now to Paris, in this conquering vein:
All will be ours, now bloody Talbot's slain. [*Exeunt.*]



ACT FIFTH — SCENE I — LONDON

THE PALACE

Sennet. Enter KING, GLOUCESTER, and EXETER

KING



HAVE YOU PERUSED THE
letters from the pope,
The emperor, and the Earl of
Armagnac?

GLOU. I have, my lord: and
their intent is this:
They humbly sue unto your ex-
cellence
To have a godly peace concluded
of
Between the realms of England
and of France.

KING. How doth your grace
affect their motion?

GLOU. Well, my good lord; and as the only means
To stop effusion of our Christian blood
And stablish quietness on every side.

10

7 *affect their motion*] feel disposed towards their proposal.

KING. Ay, marry, uncle; for I always thought
It was both impious and unnatural
That such immanity and bloody strife
Should reign among professions of one faith.

GLOU. Beside, my lord, the sooner to effect
And surer bind this knot of amity,
The Earl of Armagnac, near knit to Charles,
A man of great authority in France,
Proffers his only daughter to your grace
In marriage, with a large and sumptuous dowry. 20

KING. Marriage, uncle! alas, my years are young!
And fitter is my study and my books
Than wanton dalliance with a paramour.
Yet call the ambassadors; and, as you please,
So let them have their answers every one:
I shall be well content with any choice
Tends to God's glory and my country's weal.

*Enter WINCHESTER in Cardinal's habit, a Legate and two
Ambassadors*

EXE. What! is my Lord of Winchester install'd,
And call'd unto a cardinal's degree?

13 *immanity*] savagery.

17 *near knit*] closely related; "knit" is suggested by the "knot of amity" in the previous line. Pope, with many others, substitutes *kin*.

29 *cardinal's degree*] There is a careless discrepancy between the statement made here that Winchester's cardinal's hat is a newly bestowed honour, and that which assigns to him a "broad cardinal's hat" at the opening of the play (I, iii, 36, *supra*). As a matter of history, the Bishop was made a cardinal at the beginning of Henry VI's reign, and the present reference to his promotion is misleading.

Then I perceive that will be verified 30
Henry the Fifth did sometime prophesy,
“ If once he come to be a cardinal,
He ’ll make his cap co-equal with the crown.”

KING. My lords ambassadors, your several suits
Have been consider’d and debated on.
Your purpose is both good and reasonable;
And therefore are we certainly resolved
To draw conditions of a friendly peace;
Which by my Lord of Winchester we mean
Shall be transported presently to France. 40

GLOU. And for the proffer of my lord your master,
I have inform’d his highness so at large,
As liking of the lady’s virtuous gifts,
Her beauty and the value of her dower,
He doth intend she shall be England’s queen.

KING. In argument and proof of which contract,
Bear her this jewel, pledge of my affection.
And so, my lord protector, see them guarded
And safely brought to Dover; where inshipp’d
Commit them to the fortune of the sea. 50

[Exeunt all but Winchester and Legate.]

WIN. Stay, my lord legate: you shall first receive
The sum of money which I promised
Should be deliver’d to his holiness
For clothing me in these grave ornaments.

LEG. I will attend upon your lordship’s leisure.

WIN. *[Aside]* Now Winchester will not submit, I
 throw,

46 *argument]* evidence, witness, testimony.

Or be inferior to the proudest peer.
 Humphrey of Gloucester, thou shalt well perceive
 That, neither in birth or for authority,
 The bishop will be overborne by thee: 60
 I 'll either make thee stoop and bend thy knee,
 Or sack this country with a mutiny. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II—FRANCE

PLAINS IN ANJOU

Enter CHARLES, BURGUNDY, ALENÇON, BASTARD, REIGNIER,
 LA PUCELLE, *and forces*

CHAR. These news, my lords, may cheer our drooping
 spirits:
 'T is said the stout Parisians do revolt
 And turn again unto the warlike French.
 ALEN. Then march to Paris, royal Charles of France,
 And keep not back your powers in dalliance.
 PUC. Peace be amongst them, if they turn to us;
 Else, ruin combat with their palaces!

Enter Scout

SCOUT. Success unto our valiant general,
 And happiness to his accomplices!
 CHAR. What tidings send our scouts? I prithee, 10
 speak.

62 *sack . . . mutiny*] devastate this country with civil war.

9 *accomplices*] comrades.

SCOUT. The English army, that divided was
Into two parties, is now conjoin'd in one,
And means to give you battle presently.

CHAR. Somewhat too sudden, sirs, the warning is;
But we will presently provide for them.

BUR. I trust the ghost of Talbot is not there:
Now he is gone, my lord, you need not fear.

PUC. Of all base passions, fear is most accursed.
Command the conquest, Charles, it shall be thine,
Let Henry fret and all the world repine.

20

CHAR. Then on, my lords; and France be fortunate!
[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III—BEFORE ANGIERS

Alarum. Excursions. Enter LA PUCELLE

PUC. The regent conquers, and the Frenchmen fly.
Now help, ye charming spells and periapts;
And ye choice spirits that admonish me,
And give me signs of future accidents. [Thunder.
You speedy helpers, that are substitutes
Under the lordly monarch of the north,
Appear and aid me in this enterprise.

2 *periapts*] charms or amulets worn about the body as protection against disease or danger.

6 *lordly monarch of the north*] king of evil spirits, whose chief seat was popularly located about the north pole.

Enter Fiends

This speedy and quick appearance argues proof
Of your accustom'd diligence to me.

Now, ye familiar spirits, that are cull'd 10
Out of the powerful regions under earth,
Help me this once, that France may get the field.

[They walk, and speak not.]

O, hold me not with silence over-long!
Where I was wont to feed you with my blood,
I'll lop a member off and give it you
In earnest of a further benefit,
So you do condescend to help me now.

[They hang their heads.]

No hope to have redress? My body shall
Pay recompense, if you will grant my suit.

[They shake their heads.]

Cannot my body nor blood-sacrifice 20
Entreat you to your wonted furtherance?
Then take my soul, my body, soul and all,
Before that England give the French the foil.

[They depart.]

See, they forsake me! Now the time is come
That France must vail her lofty-plumed crest,

¹² *get the field*] gain the victory.

²¹ *Entreat . . . furtherance*] Prevail upon you to further my purposes
according to your wont.

²³ *give . . . the foil*] give the French the repulse, defeat the French.
Foil is similarly used, III, iii, 11, *supra*.

²⁵ *vail*] lower. Cf. *Merch. of Ven.*, I, i, 28: "*Vailing* her high top lower
than her ribs."

And let her head fall into England's lap.
My ancient incantations are too weak,
And hell too strong for me to buckle with:
Now, France, thy glory droopeth to the dust. [Exit.

*Excursions. Re-enter LA PUCELLE fighting hand to hand
with YORK: LA PUCELLE is taken. The French fly*

YORK. Damsel of France, I think I have you
fast: 30

Unchain your spirits now with spelling charms,
And try if they can gain your liberty.
A goodly prize, fit for the devil's grace!
See, how the ugly witch doth bend her brows,
As if with Circe she would change my shape!

PUC. Changed to a worser shape thou canst not
be.

YORK. O, Charles the Dauphin is a proper man;
No shape but his can please your dainty eye.

PUC. A plaguing mischief light on Charles and
thee!

And may ye both be suddenly surprised 40
By bloody hands, in sleeping on your beds!

YORK. Fell banning hag, enchantress, hold thy
tongue!

PUC. I prithee, give me leave to curse awhile.

YORK. Curse, miscreant, when thou comest to the
stake. [Exeunt.

28 *buckle*] encounter, fight. See I, ii, 95, note.

42 *banning*] cursing.

Alarum. Enter SUFFOLK, with MARGARET in his hand

SUF. Be what thou wilt, thou art my prisoner.

[*Gazes on her.*]

O fairest beauty, do not fear nor fly!

For I will touch thee but with reverent hands;

I kiss these fingers for eternal peace,

And lay them gently on thy tender side.

Who art thou? say, that I may honour thee.

50

MAR. Margaret my name, and daughter to a king,
The King of Naples, whosoe'er thou art.

SUF. An earl I am, and Suffolk am I call'd.

Be not offended, nature's miracle,

Thou art allotted to be ta'en by me:

So doth the swan her downy cygnets save,

Keeping them prisoner underneath her wings.

Yet, if this servile usage once offend,

Go and be free again as Suffolk's friend. [*She is going.*]

O, stay! I have no power to let her pass;

60

My hand would free her, but my heart says no.

As plays the sun upon the glassy streams,

Twinkling another counterfeited beam,

So seems this gorgeous beauty to mine eyes.

Fain would I woo her, yet I dare not speak:

I'll call for pen and ink, and write my mind.

45 *thou art my prisoner*] The facts of history are here altogether defied.

Suffolk never took Margaret (of Anjou) prisoner. It was fourteen years after the capture of Joan of Arc that he opened negotiations with her for her marriage with Henry VI.

47 *reverent*] Hammer's correction of the Folio reading *reverend*. Cf. III, i, 49, *supra*.

Fie, de la Pole! disable not thyself;
 Hast not a tongue? is she not here?
 Wilt thou be daunted at a woman's sight?
 Ay, beauty's princely majesty is such,
 Confounds the tongue and makes the senses rough.

70

MAR. Say, Earl of Suffolk, — if thy name be so —
 What ransom must I pay before I pass?
 For I perceive I am thy prisoner.

SUF. How canst thou tell she will deny thy suit,
 Before thou make a trial of her love?

MAR. Why speak'st thou not? what ransom must I
 pay?

SUF. She's beautiful and therefore to be woo'd;
 She is a woman, therefore to be won.

MAR. Wilt thou accept of ransom? yea, or no.

80

SUF. Fond man, remember that thou hast a wife;
 Then how can Margaret be thy paramour?

MAR. I were best to leave him, for he will not hear.

SUF. There all is marr'd; there lies a cooling card.

MAR. He talks at random; sure, the man is mad.

67 *disable*] disparage.

71 *makes the senses rough*] Thus the Folios. No change is necessary, though many have been proposed. The meaning is that the faculties work roughly, clumsily, or inefficiently under the staggering influence of dazzling beauty.

75-76 *How canst . . . her love*] This, like all the remarks of Suffolk, as far as line 100, is spoken by him aside.

77-78 *She's beautiful . . . won*] Cf. *Tit. Andr.*, II, i, 82-83: "She is a woman, therefore may be wooed. She is a woman, therefore may be won."

84 *a cooling card*] anything that damps one's ardour, throws cold water on one's hopes. The expression is very common in contemporary literature.

SUF. And yet a dispensation may be had.
MAR. And yet I would that you would answer me.
SUF. I'll win this Lady Margaret. For whom?
Why, for my king: tush, that's a wooden thing!
MAR. He talks of wood: it is some carpenter. 90
SUF. Yet so my fancy may be satisfied,
And peace established between these realms.
But there remains a scruple in that too;
For though her father be the King of Naples,
Duke of Anjou and Maine, yet is he poor,
And our nobility will scorn the match.
MAR. Hear ye, captain, are you not at leisure?
SUF. It shall be so, disdain they ne'er so much:
Henry is youthful and will quickly yield.
Madam, I have a secret to reveal. 100
MAR. What though I be enthrall'd? he seems a knight,
And will not any way dishonour me.
SUF. Lady, vouchsafe to listen what I say.
MAR. Perhaps I shall be rescued by the French;
And then I need not crave his courtesy.
SUF. Sweet madam, give me hearing in a cause —
MAR. Tush, women have been captivate ere now.
SUF. Lady, wherefore talk you so?
MAR. I cry you mercy, 't is but Quid for Quo.
SUF. Say, gentle princess, would you not suppose 110
Your bondage happy, to be made a queen?

89 *a wooden thing*] a stupid, lifeless thing to do.

101-102 *What though . . . dishonour me*] This and Margaret's two following speeches are spoken aside.

107 *captivate*] made captive. Cf. II, iii, 42, *supra*.

MAR. To be a queen in bondage is more vile
Than is a slave in base servility;
For princes should be free.

SUF. And so shall you,
If happy England's royal king be free.

MAR. Why, what concerns his freedom unto me?

SUF. I'll undertake to make thee Henry's queen,
To put a golden sceptre in thy hand
And set a precious crown upon thy head,
If thou wilt condescend to be my —

MAR. What?

120

SUF. His love.

MAR. I am unworthy to be Henry's wife.

SUF. No, gentle madam; I unworthy am
To woo so fair a dame to be his wife,
And have no portion in the choice myself.
How say you, madam, are ye so content?

MAR. An if my father please, I am content.

SUF. Then call our captains and our colours forth.
And, madam, at your father's castle walls
We'll crave a parley, to confer with him.

130

A parley sounded. Enter REIGNIER on the walls

See, Reignier, see, thy daughter prisoner!

REIG. To whom?

SUF. To me.

REIG. Suffolk, what remedy?
I am a soldier, and unapt to weep,
Or to exclaim on fortune's fickleness.

SUF. Yes, there is remedy enough, my lord:

[115]

Consent, and for thy honour give consent,
Thy daughter shall be wedded to my king;
Whom I with pain have woo'd and won thereto;
And this her easy-held imprisonment
Hath gain'd thy daughter princely liberty. 140

REIG. Speaks Suffolk as he thinks?

SUF. Fair Margaret knows
That Suffolk doth not flatter, face, or feign.

REIG. Upon thy princely warrant, I descend
To give thee answer of thy just demand.

[Exit from the walls.]

SUF. And here I will expect thy coming.

Trumpets sound. Enter REIGNIER, below

REIG. Welcome, brave earl, into our territories:
Command in Anjou what your honour pleases.

SUF. Thanks, Reignier, happy for so sweet a child,
Fit to be made companion with a king:
What answer makes your grace unto my suit? 150

REIG. Since thou dost deign to woo her little worth
To be the princely bride of such a lord;
Upon condition I may quietly
Enjoy mine own, the country Maine and Anjou,
Free from oppression or the stroke of war,
My daughter shall be Henry's, if he please.

SUF. That is her ransom; I deliver her;
And those two counties I will undertake
Your grace shall well and quietly enjoy.

142 [ace] play the hypocrite. Hence an hypocritical character in Jon-
son's *Alchemist* is so called.

REIG. And I again, in Henry's royal name, 160
As deputy unto that gracious king,
Give thee her hand, for sign of plighted faith.

SUF. Reignier of France, I give thee kingly
thanks,

Because this is in traffic of a king.

[*Aside*] And yet, methinks, I could be well content
To be mine own attorney in this case.

I'll over then to England with this news,

And make this marriage to be solemnized.

So farewell, Reignier: set this diamond safe

In golden palaces, as it becomes. 170

REIG. I do embrace thee, as I would embrace
The Christian prince, King Henry, were he here.

MAR. Farewell, my lord: good wishes, praise and
prayers

Shall Suffolk ever have of Margaret. [*Going.*]

SUF. Farewell, sweet madam: but hark you, Mar-
garet;

No princely commendations to my king?

MAR. Such commendations as becomes a maid,
[A virgin and his servant, say to him.]

SUF. Words sweetly placed and modestly directed. 180
But, madam, I must trouble you again;
No loving token to his majesty?

MAR. Yes, my good lord, a pure unspotted heart,
Never yet taint with love, I send the king.

SUF. And this withal. [*Kisses her.*]

164 *in traffic of*] in the business of.

183 *taint*] touched. Cf. V, v, 81-82, *infra*: "*attaint* With . . . love."

MAR. That for thyself: I will not so presume
To send such peevish tokens to a king.

[*Exeunt Reignier and Margaret.*]

SUF. O, wert thou for myself! But, Suffolk, stay;
Thou mayst not wander in that labyrinth;
There Minotaurs and ugly treasons lurk.
Solicit Henry with her wondrous praise: 190
Bethink thee on her virtues that surmount,
And natural graces that extinguish art;
Repeat their semblance often on the seas,
That, when thou comest to kneel at Henry's feet,
Thou mayst bereave him of his wits with wonder. [*Exit.*]

SCENE IV—CAMP OF THE DUKE OF
YORK IN ANJOU

Enter YORK, WARWICK, and others

YORK. Bring forth that sorceress condemn'd to burn.

Enter LA PUCELLE, guarded, and a Shepherd

SHEP. Ah, Joan, this kills thy father's heart outright!
Have I sought every country far and near,
And, now it is my chance to find thee out,
Must I behold thy timeless cruel death?
Ah, Joan, sweet daughter Joan, I'll die with thee!

186 *peevish*] foolish, trivial.

189 *Minotaurs*] Minotaur was the name of the Cretan monster who devoured virgins.

191 *virtues that surmount*] supereminent virtues.

192 *And natural*] Capell's correction of the Folio reading *mad natural*.

5 *timeless*] untimely.

PUC. Decrepit miser! base ignoble wretch!
 I am descended of a gentler blood:
 Thou art no father nor no friend of mine.

SHEP. Out, out! My lords, an please you, 't is not so; ¹⁰
 I did beget her, all the parish knows:
 Her mother liveth yet, can testify
 She was the first fruit of my bachelorship.

WAR. Graceless! wilt thou deny thy parentage?

YORK. This argues what her kind of life hath been,
 Wicked and vile; and so her death concludes.

SHEP. Fie, Joan, that thou wilt be so obstacle!
 God knows thou art a collop of my flesh;
 And for thy sake have I shed many a tear:
 Deny me not, I prithee, gentle Joan. 20

PUC. Peasant, avaunt! You have suborn'd this man,
 Of purpose to obscure my noble birth.

SHEP. 'T is true, I gave a noble to the priest
 The morn that I was wedded to her mother.
 Kneel down and take my blessing, good my girl.
 Wilt not thou stoop? Now cursed be the time
 Of thy nativity! I would the milk
 Thy mother gave thee when thou suck'dst her breast,
 Had been a little ratsbane for thy sake!
 Or else, when thou didst keep my lambs a-field, 30
 I wish some ravenous wolf had eaten thee!

7 *miser*] miserable man, without suggestion of avarice.

16 *concludes*] is the natural conclusion.

17 *so obstacle*] an ignorant mispronunciation of "obstinate."

18 *collop*] a common term of endearment for child. Cf. *Wint. Tale*, I, ii,

137: "Most dear'st! my *collop*!"

Dost thou deny thy father, cursed drab?

O, burn her, burn her! hanging is too good. [Exit.

YORK. Take her away; for she hath lived too long,
To fill the world with vicious qualities.

PUC. First, let me tell you whom you have condemn'd:
Not me begotten of a shepherd swain,
But issued from the progeny of kings;
Virtuous and holy; chosen from above,
By inspiration of celestial grace, 40
To work exceeding miracles on earth.
I never had to do with wicked spirits:
But you, that are polluted with your lusts,
Stain'd with the guiltless blood of innocents,
Corrupt and tainted with a thousand vices,
Because you want the grace that others have,
You judge it straight a thing impossible
To compass wonders but by help of devils.
No, misconceived! Joan of Arc hath been
A virgin from her tender infancy, 50
Chaste and immaculate in very thought;
Whose maiden blood, thus rigorously effused,
Will cry for vengeance at the gates of heaven.

YORK. Ay, ay: away with her to execution!

WAR. And hark ye, sirs; because she is a maid,
Spare for no faggots, let there be enow:
Place barrels of pitch upon the fatal stake,
That so her torture may be shortened.

PUC. Will nothing turn your unrelenting hearts?
Then, Joan, discover thine infirmity, 60

49 *No, misconceived!*] No, ye misconceivers!

That warranteth by law to be thy privilege.
 I am with child, ye bloody homicides:
 Murder not then the fruit within my womb,
 Although ye hale me to a violent death.

YORK. Now heaven forfend! the holy maid with child!

WAR. The greatest miracle that e'er ye wrought:
 Is all your strict preciseness come to this?

YORK. She and the Dauphin have been juggling:
 I did imagine what would be her refuge.

WAR. Well, go to; we 'll have no bastards live; 70
 Especially since Charles must father it.

PUC. You are deceived; my child is none of his:
 It was Alençon that enjoy'd my love.

YORK. Alençon! that notorious Machiavel!
 It dies, an if it had a thousand lives.

PUC. O, give me leave, I have deluded you:
 'T was neither Charles nor yet the duke I named,
 But Reignier, king of Naples, that prevail'd.

WAR. A married man! that 's most intolerable.

YORK. Why, here 's a girl! I think she knows not well, 80
 There were so many, whom she may accuse.

WAR. It 's sign she hath been liberal and free.

YORK. And yet, forsooth, she is a virgin pure.
 Strumpet, thy words condemn thy brat and thee:
 Use no entreaty, for it is in vain.

74 *Machiavel*] Machiavelli, the famous author of *The Prince*, enjoyed the popular repute of a crafty schemer, and his name became a term of infamy. Cf. *M. Wives*, III, i, 104, and *3 Hen. VI*, III, ii, 193: "And set the *murderous Machiavel* to school."

82 *liberal and free*] licentious and wanton.

PUC. Then lead me hence; with whom I leave my
curse:

May never glorious sun reflex his beams
Upon the country where you make abode;
But darkness and the gloomy shade of death
Environ you, till mischief and despair 90
Drive you to break your necks or hang yourselves!

[*Exit, guarded.*]

YORK. Break thou in pieces and consume to ashes,
Thou foul accursed minister of hell!

Enter CARDINAL BEAUFORT, Bishop of Winchester, *attended*

CAR. Lord regent, I do greet your excellence
With letters of commission from the king.
For know, my lords, the states of Christendom,
Moved with remorse of these outrageous broils,
Have earnestly implored a general peace
Betwixt our nation and the aspiring French;
And here at hand the Dauphin and his train 100
Approacheth, to confer about some matter.

YORK. Is all our travail turn'd to this effect?
After the slaughter of so many peers,
So many captains, gentlemen and soldiers,
That in this quarrel have been overthrown,
And sold their bodies for their country's benefit,
Shall we at last conclude effeminate peace?
Have we not lost most part of all the towns,

87 *reflex*] reflect; a very rare usage. Shakespeare only employs the word once elsewhere, and then as a noun. *Rom. and Jul.*, III, v, 20: "the pale *reflex* [*i. e., reflexion*]."

By treason, falsehood and by treachery,
 Our great progenitors had conquered? 110
 O, Warwick, Warwick! I foresee with grief
 The utter loss of all the realm of France.

WAR. Be patient, York: if we conclude a peace,
 It shall be with such strict and severe covenants
 As little shall the Frenchmen gain thereby.

Enter CHARLES, ALENÇON, BASTARD, REIGNIER, and others

CHAR. Since, lords of England, it is thus agreed
 That peaceful truce shall be proclaim'd in France,
 We come to be informed by yourselves
 What the conditions of that league must be.

YORK. Speak, Winchester; for boiling choler chokes 120
 The hollow passage of my poison'd voice,
 By sight of these our baleful enemies.

CAR. Charles, and the rest, it is enacted thus:
 That, in regard King Henry gives consent,
 Of mere compassion and of lenity,
 To ease your country of distressful war,
 And suffer you to breathe in fruitful peace,
 You shall become true liegemen to his crown:
 And, Charles, upon condition thou wilt swear
 To pay him tribute, and submit thyself, 130

114 *severe*] The first syllable is accented, as in *Meas. for Meas.*, II, ii, 41:

“O just but *se’vere* law!” The usage is very rare.

121 *poison’d*] Thus the Folios. Theobald substituted *prison’d*. “Poison’d” agrees well enough with the epithet “baleful” in the next line.

124 *in regard*] considering that.

Thou shalt be placed as viceroy under him,
And still enjoy thy regal dignity.

ALEN. Must he be then as shadow of himself?
Adorn his temples with a coronet,
And yet, in substance and authority,
Retain but privilege of a private man?
This proffer is absurd and reasonless.

CHAR. 'T is known already that I am possess'd
With more than half the Gallian territories,
And therein revered for their lawful king: 140
Shall I, for lucre of the rest unvanquish'd,
Detract so much from that prerogative,
As to be call'd but viceroy of the whole?
No, lord ambassador, I 'll rather keep
That which I have than, coveting for more,
Be cast from possibility of all.

YORK. Insulting Charles! hast thou by secret means
Used intercession to obtain a league,
And, now the matter grows to compromise,
Stand'st thou aloof upon comparison? 150
Either accept the title thou usurp'st,
Of benefit proceeding from our king
And not of any challenge of desert,
Or we will plague thee with incessant wars.

146 *cast*] precluded.

150 *Stand'st thou aloof . . . comparison?*] Do you hold off or hesitate because you insist on comparing your former state with your present one?

152 *Of benefit*] as a gift, as an indulgence.

153 *challenge of desert*] claim or right of merit.

REIG. My lord, you do not well in obstinacy
To cavil in the course of this contract:
If once it be neglected, ten to one
We shall not find like opportunity.

ALEN. To say the truth, it is your policy
To save your subjects from such massacre 160
And ruthless slaughters, as are daily seen,
By our proceeding in hostility;
And therefore take this compact of a truce,
Although you break it when your pleasure serves.

WAR. How say'st thou, Charles? shall our condition
stand?

CHAR. It shall;
Only reserved, you claim no interest
In any of our towns of garrison.

YORK. Then swear allegiance to his majesty,
As thou art knight, never to disobey 170
Nor be rebellious to the crown of England,
Thou, nor thy nobles, to the crown of England.
So, now dismiss your army when ye please;
Hang up your ensigns, let your drums be still,
For here we entertain a solemn peace. [Exeunt.]

SCENE V—LONDON

THE ROYAL PALACE

*Enter SUFFOLK in conference with the KING, GLOUCESTER
and EXETER*

KING. Your wondrous rare description, noble earl,
Of beauteous Margaret hath astonish'd me:

Her virtues graced with external gifts
Do breed love's settled passions in my heart:
And like as rigour of tempestuous gusts
Provokes the mightiest hulk against the tide,
So am I driven by breath of her renown,
Either to suffer shipwreck or arrive
Where I may have fruition of her love.

SUF. Tush, my good lord, this superficial tale 10
Is but a preface of her worthy praise;
The chief perfections of that lovely dame,
Had I sufficient skill to utter them,
Would make a volume of enticing lines,
Able to ravish any dull conceit:
And, which is more, she is not so divine,
So full-replete with choice of all delights,
But with as humble lowliness of mind
She is content to be at your command;
Command, I mean, of virtuous chaste intents, 20
To love and honour Henry as her lord.

KING. And otherwise will Henry ne'er presume.
Therefore, my lord protector, give consent
That Margaret may be England's royal queen.

GLOU. So should I give consent to flatter sin.
You know, my lord, your highness is betroth'd

5-9 *like as rigour . . . of her love*] The simile is far-fetched. The king seems to mean that as strong winds drive a ship against the tide, so is he driven by his love against the current of his material interests. There is no historic ground for representing King Henry as moved by reports of Margaret's beauty. The marriage was carried out by his advisers entirely as a matter of policy.

Unto another lady of esteem:

How shall we then dispense with that contract,
And not deface your honour with reproach?

SUF. As doth a ruler with unlawful oaths; 30
Or one that, at a triumph having vow'd
To try his strength, forsaketh yet the lists
By reason of his adversary's odds:
A poor earl's daughter is unequal odds,
And therefore may be broke without offence.

GLOU. Why, what, I pray, is Margaret more than
that?

Her father is no better than an earl,
Although in glorious titles he excel.

SUF. Yes, my lord, her father is a king, 40
The King of Naples and Jerusalem;
And of such great authority in France,
As his alliance will confirm our peace,
And keep the Frenchmen in allegiance.

GLOU. And so the Earl of Armagnac may do,
Because he is near kinsman unto Charles.

EXE. Beside, his wealth doth warrant a liberal
dower,
Where Reignier sooner will receive than give.

SUF. A dower, my lords! disgrace not so your
king, 50
That he should be so abject, base and poor,
To choose for wealth and not for perfect love.
Henry is able to enrich his queen,
And not to seek a queen to make him rich:

31 *triumph*] tournament.

So worthless peasants bargain for their wives,
 As market-men for oxen, sheep, or horse.
 Marriage is a matter of more worth
 Than to be dealt in by attorneyship;
 Not whom we will, but whom his grace affects,
 Must be companion of his nuptial bed:
 And therefore, lords, since he affects her most,
 It most of all these reasons bindeth us, 60
 In our opinions she should be preferr'd.
 For what is wedlock forced but a hell,
 An age of discord and continual strife?
 Whereas the contrary bringeth bliss,
 And is a pattern of celestial peace.
 Whom should we match with Henry, being a
 King,
 But Margaret, that is daughter to a king?
 Her peerless feature, joined with her birth,
 Approves her fit for none but for a king:
 Her valiant courage and undaunted spirit, 70
 More than in women commonly is seen,
 Will answer our hope in issue of a king;
 For Henry, son unto a conqueror,
 Is likely to beget more conquerors,
 If with a lady of so high resolve
 As is fair Margaret he be link'd in love.

53 *worthless*] fortuneless, penniless.

56 *by attorneyship*] by attorney, by vicarious agents.

64 *bringeth*] Thus the First Folio. The Second Folio needlessly inserts
forth before *bliss*. "Contrary" may easily be pronounced quadri-
 syllabically.

Then yield, my lords; and here conclude with me
That Margaret shall be queen, and none but she.

KING. Whether it be through force of your report,

My noble Lord of Suffolk, or for that 80
My tender youth was never yet attain'd
With any passion of inflaming love,
I cannot tell; but this I am assured,
I feel such sharp dissension in my breast,
Such fierce alarums both of hope and fear,
As I am sick with working of my thoughts.
Take, therefore, shipping; post, my lord, to France;
Agree to any covenants, and procure
That Lady Margaret do vouchsafe to come 90
To cross the seas to Engand, and be crown'd
King Henry's faithful and anointed queen:
For your expenses and sufficient charge,
Among the people gather up a tenth.
Be gone, I say; for, till you do return,
I rest perplexed with a thousand cares.
And you, good uncle, banish all offence:
If you do censure me by what you were,
Not what you are, I know it will excuse
This sudden execution of my will.
And so, conduct me where, from company, 100
I may revolve and ruminate my grief. [Exit.

GLOU. Ay, grief, I fear me, both at first and last.

[Exeunt Gloucester and Exeter.]

81 *attaint*] touched. Cf. V, iii, 183, *supra*: "taint with love."

97 *censure*] judge.

FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI ACT V

SUF. Thus Suffolk hath prevail'd; and thus he goes,
As did the youthful Paris once to Greece,
With hope to find the like event in love,
But prosper better than the Trojan did.
Margaret shall now be queen, and rule the king;
But I will rule both her, the king and realm. [Exit.

104-106 *the youthful Paris*] Paris's visit to Greece resulted in his winning Helen's love.



